

THE HORSE AND LION TAPESTRY AT DUMBARTON OAKS

A STUDY IN COPTIC AND SASSANIAN TEXTILE DESIGN *

BY

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* My thanks are due to Miss Louisa Bellinger, Professor R. P. Blake, Dr. Herbert Bloch, Professor W. R. Koehler, Mrs. Barbara Sessions, and Dr. Nicholas Toll. They all have been kind enough to read this paper in manuscript and have given me most helpful advice. I was also fortunate in having had an opportunity to discuss some of the problems of Sassanian ornament with Dr. E. Herzfeld in Princeton. The directors of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, and the Brooklyn Museum have obliged me greatly by giving me permission to reproduce textiles in their collections.

This paper was written in the year 1942. Literature of subsequent years has not been taken into account.

The original plan of the paper provided for a color plate showing the main design of the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry. This plate could not be produced owing to war conditions.

E. K.

TEXTILES of late antique or Coptic origin do not as a rule warrant extensive monographic study. They fall into a comparatively few large classes each of which is characterized by its peculiar type of ornament and color scheme, and once a satisfactory chronology of these various groups is established the most urgent problem concerning the history of late antique textile art will be solved.

Perhaps the most important task in this connection is to find out to what extent the stylistic classification of the material coincides with a grouping based on material and weaving technique. An inquiry of this kind can be carried out only with the help of thorough technical analyses of a large number of textiles. Such analyses are now available in the textile files of the Dumbarton Oaks Census of Objects of Early Christian and Byzantine Art in the United States and Canada, and it may therefore be hoped that the task will soon be undertaken.

There are, however, pieces which do not fall readily into the classes of ordinary mass production and therefore require individual study. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection can boast of several pieces which are unique, or at least unusual, in design and outstanding in artistic merit. One of these forms the subject of this paper.

Rare even among late antique textiles in the richness of its design and the exuberance of its many colors, this piece particularly attracts the attention of the art historian because it combines ornamental and figurative motifs which, though not unfamiliar in themselves, are unexpected in the context in which they appear.

I. DESCRIPTION. RECONSTRUCTION OF PATTERN

This textile was acquired by the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in the year 1939 and bears the accession number 39.13.¹ The provenance is unknown. It is of unusually large size, measuring even in its obviously incomplete state 1.48×0.78 m. The material is wool throughout; the technique is tapestry weave. Both warp and weft threads are spun to the left as in the majority of Egyptian Coptic pieces. The only unusual feature from the technical point of view is the dark gray color of the warp threads.

A detailed description of the ornament is made superfluous by the copious illustrations accompanying this paper. It is, however, necessary to

¹ It is mentioned briefly by H. Swarzenski, in *Art Bulletin*, 23, 1941, p. 79.

comment on some apparent inconsistencies in the composition, which seem to disrupt its unity, though, as we shall see, they are actually due to an early restoration.

When the textile first came to Dumbarton Oaks there were many more traces of this early restoration than there are now. The piece showed clear marks of having previously gone through the hands of a restorer whose main concern it was to patch all the gaps, regardless of continuity of pattern. The textile has since been remounted by the expert hands of Miss Helen Lehr at the Department of Textiles of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. When removed from its former mount it was found to consist of many separate fragments which had been stitched together in an arbitrary fashion. Miss Lehr considerably clarified the design, by eliminating a great deal of minor patchwork, though she refrained from attempting a complete rearrangement of the whole piece. A comparison of the earlier and the recent photographs (figs. 1, 2) shows that fragments which had been inserted without regard for the pattern have either been assigned to new places or removed altogether. It was of course impossible to restore all these isolated fragments to their original positions. In fact, it can be safely asserted that many of the lions, horses, birds and acanthus scrolls, as well as the border ornaments wholly or in part, are not now in the places they originally occupied. Since we are dealing with repeat patterns this is perhaps not of much consequence, so long as we can be sure of the design as a whole.

Sufficiently large stretches have been preserved intact to enable us to ascertain the original design. Such inconsistencies as do exist are due to fundamental mistakes on the part of the earlier restorer, mistakes which could be set right only by subjecting the whole panel to a very far-reaching rearrangement.

To take the main field first, we find that it is occupied by a repeat pattern whose basic unit consists of a pair of addorsed half-length figures of animals on a cup-like semicircular base, which in its turn is perched on a foliate scroll. There are to be seen, in whole or in part, seven horizontal rows, each consisting of four or four and a half such units. Throughout the first five rows (reckoning from the top of the panel) there is some continuity of texture. To be sure, many isolated fragments have been inserted, but there is always at least one point where the warp threads run through to the succeeding row. Thanks to this fact we can be confident that the composition as a whole has been restored correctly. The half-length figures of animals alternated from row to row, horses being represented in one row, lions in the next, horses again in the third row, and so on. The axis

of symmetry of any one unit lies in line with the interval between the units above and below, or, in other words, the units are "staggered." It is owing to this fact that the "horse rows" end on the right with a whole unit, while the "lion rows" end with a half unit.

The only point where this scheme does not seem to have been followed is in the fifth and sixth rows. The fifth row — a lion row — instead of ending on the right with a half unit, as it should, ends with a whole unit, and the sixth row, although "staggered," presents lions again whereas one would expect horses. These two inconsistencies are easily explained when we realize that in this area the continuity of texture is completely interrupted. A break can be observed across the entire width of the panel (including the border) at the height of the fifth row. It starts just below the leftmost unit in this row, runs in a vertical direction between the scroll of the first and that of the second unit, thence across the tops of the semicircular cups of the second, third, and fourth units, and from there across the frame ornament into the horseman roundel of the border, and it ends — on a slightly higher level — at the right edge of the cloth. The whole cloth, in other words, consists of two separate pieces; and in the fifth row, where the pattern appears to be disturbed, only the first unit belongs entirely to the piece with which we have so far been dealing. The other lions in this row did not necessarily belong to the cups on which they are now placed. And when we look more closely, we find that the two lions of the last unit on the right consist of two detached fragments which need not originally have been in that position at all. In fact, room for these two lions could be found only by stretching the other units in this row somewhat towards the left, a makeshift of which one is painfully aware especially in looking at the leftmost pair of lions. If the upper piece of cloth were allowed to hang straight the lions in this row would come to lie further to the right, and there would be room only for a half-unit, i.e. one lion, on the right. The restorer has forced these lions onto cups which lie in different axes and which are meant for horses. Originally the lions in the fifth row were staggered like all the others.

We said that of the units in this row only the one to the left is still intact, in the sense that animals, cup and acanthus scroll are all of one piece. The break between the lower part of this unit and that immediately next to it on the right is not very conspicuous though an attentive examination of the original shows quite clearly that the cloth has been stitched together at this point. Even on photographs the break may be recognized. Pictures taken before the last restoration (fig. 2) show in the interval between the acanthus scroll of the leftmost unit and the one next to it the left end of another acanthus scroll, obviously a remnant of the scroll originally in this

place. This means that the present acanthus scroll of the second unit is not the original one. Furthermore, we find just below the acanthus scroll of the leftmost unit a yellow stripe above a black line, below which in turn are traces of white threads. This horizontal stripe is not continued in the units on the right. Not only does this prove conclusively that there is a break at this point — it also indicates that with the fifth row we have reached the original lower frame of the whole design.²

In other words, the entire portion below the break cannot be in its original place at all. The inconsistencies in the composition are not real ones. The pattern ended with what is now the fifth row, and, as we have seen, this row ended on the right with a half unit. The two lions now in this place are loose fragments and the cup on which they sit belongs to the complex below the break.

For this complex a new place must be envisaged at the top of the whole panel. In itself it is a coherent piece showing continuity of texture, apart from some obvious patchwork. It begins on the top with a row of cups, which, ending as it does with a whole unit on the right, must have supported horses, and it is consistent with this assumption that the next row (the sixth in the present arrangement) should show lions ending on the right with a half unit. The last is again a row of horses with a whole unit on the right. Since we must picture this whole lower complex at the top of the panel, we wonder, naturally, whether the horses of the last row do not belong to the scroll-bases in what is now the first row. But since these scroll-bases end on the right with a half-unit this cannot have been the case. They must have supported lions. In transferring the lower piece to the top we must assume a gap of the height of at least one entire row, including the missing lions and cups of the (present) first row, and the missing cups and scrolls of the (present) last row. The whole hanging was originally at least twelve inches longer than it is now. How much farther it extended to the left we cannot say.

We conclude that in its original state the main field of the textile showed one compositional scheme consistently employed throughout the whole area. There were "staggered" rows composed alternately of lions and horses.

It will be observed that while all the horses are depicted in profile some of the lions' heads are seen in three-quarters view. In fact, both in the (present) third and in the (present) sixth row we find a rhythmic change in this respect, the first two lions on the right being shown in profile, the next two in three-quarters view, the third pair again in profile. These two

² For this lower frame see also below n. 175.

rows are sufficiently well preserved to justify the assumption that this rhythmic change is original. It is the one and only device by which animals are linked up with those of neighboring units rather than with their own "Siamese twins," and it constitutes a subtle connection between units otherwise completely detached.³

Turning now to the border, we find no point at which this can definitely be said to stand in its original connection with the main field. It is difficult, however, to make an exact statement on this question. Continuity of weft threads cannot be expected since the color changes several times along sharp vertical lines between field and border. These several stripes must always have been joined by "dovetailing" weft threads and it is difficult to determine to what extent this is original. Strictly speaking it is not even proved that field and border come from one and the same hanging. But in view of the complete identity of material and technique, as well as style (cf. the lions' heads), there can hardly be any real doubt in this respect.

The border itself is badly patched, but some guidance for the reconstruction of the design is afforded by certain continuous stretches:

1. The one remaining hind-leg (not the forepart) of the lion at the top of the border joins with the first horseman-roundel below, and the same fragment includes the forepart of the spotted animal below which is either a panther or a leopard.

2. With the spotted hind-legs of this animal we reach a new fragment, which takes in the second medallion (with the exception of an obvious patch in the upper part of its frame), the lion below it and the third medallion (fig. 40).

The next lion and the upper part of the fourth roundel are made up entirely of patchwork. The hind-leg of the lion, being spotted, is actually that of a panther. Here we reach the point where, as we saw, a break runs across the entire width of the panel.

3. The lower part of the fourth roundel, the lion below, and the upper part of the fifth roundel form one continuous piece.

4. That the lower part of the fifth roundel was not originally contiguous with no. 3 is obvious. The horse does not fit the rider, and the frame ornament changes abruptly from large to small beads. The lower part of the fifth roundel is on a separate fragment which also includes the panther below (fig. 30).

³The fact that in the (present) fifth row this rhythm does not seem to have been observed need not disturb us. We have already seen that this row is very badly patched up. There seems to be only one real irregularity as regards the arrangement of the field design and that is the varying color scheme of the birds inside the semicircular cups. These are

From these facts certain conclusions may be drawn:

On those pieces which show traces of more than one animal (nos. 1 and 2) we observe an alternation of lions and panthers. We may assume that this alternation was followed throughout the border so that there was a rhythm: roundel — lion — roundel — panther — roundel — lion, etc. We also find that the horsemen are of two different types. Some of them carry a spear in the lowered left hand, while others have the left arm raised, and carry a round missile. Fragment no. 2 is the only one on which enough remains of two consecutive roundels to permit a judgment in regard to the distribution of these two types. One of the horsemen on this fragment holds a spear, the other a missile. It may be assumed that there was an alternation between the two types of horsemen just as between the two types of animals. However, an irregularity must have occurred somewhere. Both in fragment no. 1 and in fragment no. 2 a lion is situated above a horseman with a missile. In fragment no. 3, on the other hand, we find a lion above a horseman with a spear. A change of order may have been occasioned by a central motif, or else by a corner.⁴

It is also evident from the arbitrary use of colors in the roundels that the complete regularity which we find in the main field was not maintained in the border.

The background of the topmost medallion is bright red, that of the second dark crimson, that of the third is blue. The topmost horseman wears a dark blue tunic with red and white dots, a dark green chlamys and stockings of the same color. The tunic of the second horseman is pink, and his chlamys green; his stockings are blue. The third horseman is dressed in a brown tunic, while chlamys and stockings are red. There is neither system nor repetition; the purpose seems to have been to achieve as varied an effect of bright colors as possible.

To extend our color description to the roundels in the lower half of the border: the background of the fourth roundel is dark blue; only the horseman's green leggings with white and red dots are preserved. The background of the last roundel (both in its upper and its lower half) is bright red like that of the first. The horseman in the upper half wears a dark blue tunic with white and red dots and a green chlamys. Of the horseman orig-

sometimes dark green, sometimes light green and sometimes blue. Granted even that many of the birds are not in their original places it is difficult to imagine that there was any system in these changes.

⁴ Some of the fragments may have belonged to the border on the left side of the whole panel. The only objection to attributing portions of the border to the left would be the frame on their right hand side. But we shall see presently that we cannot say for certain to what extent this is original.

inally belonging to the lower half of this medallion, the lower end of a blue tunic, a leg clothed in a yellow stocking, and the fluttering end of a green chlamys remain. The frames of the roundels are all red, but of two different shades. The beads are white, and at regular intervals their sequence is interrupted by a colored "jewel" which is either red or blue.

The animals in the border show only minor variations in color. The two panthers are uniformly white with yellow spots on their bodies (the brown tint on part of the body of the upper one seems to be due to deterioration of the threads at this point). The eyes are blue, the tongues red, and the neckbands red with blue ornament on white ground. The lions are all white, with yellow manes, except that of the lowest one which is reddish brown. Their tails are filled in in red.

Finally a word must be said about the outer border of the textile. The green field which forms the background of the roundels and free style animals is framed on the right with the same plain red crest ornament on white ground which we find on its left. To the right of this red and white frame ornament we observe a narrow stripe of the same dark mauve color which provides the background of the main field. But in trying to determine whether this outer frame or any part of it is in its original place, we meet with the same difficulties which we mentioned in discussing the relationship between the main field and the border (see above p. 7).

The combination of field and border design is unique. In order to determine provenance and date of the textile we shall have to make separate studies of the two designs.

The basic pattern of the design in the field has several parallels in textile art. It will be our first task to find out which of these parallels are closest to what might be called the type-model of the group. These pieces will form the basis for an enquiry into the origin of the pattern on the one hand and for an attempt to characterize the individual achievement of our artist on the other. For there can be no doubt that in our case the basic pattern has been rendered in a very particular manner. It is through these peculiarities that we are enabled to put forward an idea as to the environment in which our textile was woven. The analysis of the border will throw further light on this question. We shall then discuss briefly the composition as a whole and the parallels which can be found for a large hanging of this type. Finally we shall coordinate these various results from the point of view of chronology. We shall see that they permit us to determine, within certain limits, the date of our textile.

II. THE DESIGN IN THE FIELD

Busts of animals addorsed and mounted on some kind of pedestal are used as a basic motif of an ornamental field or border on a number of textiles in wool and in silk.

WOOL

Lyons, Musée des Tissus	no. 266 b ⁶	Antinoë (fig. 3)
do.	no. 268 b ⁶	Antinoë (fig. 3)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts	no. 27.566 ⁶	? (fig. 4)
Brooklyn, Museum	no. 15.435 ⁷	Antinoë (fig. 5)

SILK

Paris, Musée Guimet	no. 1148 ⁸	Antinoë (fig. 9)
Lyons, Musée des Tissus	no. 362 ⁸	Antinoë
London, V. & A. Museum	no. 828 ⁹	Antinoë? (fig. 8)
Lyons, Musée des Tissus	no. 363 ¹⁰	Antinoë (fig. 7)
Berlin, Kunstgewerbe-Mus.	no. 311/96 ¹¹	Antinoë (fig. 10)
(Paris, Musée Guimet)	no. 1108 ¹²	Antinoë (fig. 6)

The wool textiles are closely related to each other in more than one respect. They are all tapestry weaves made entirely of wool.¹³ Details of spinning are not available for the pieces in Lyons, but the fragments in Boston and Brooklyn share with ours the one-ply threads twisted to the left. All the pieces, including those in Lyons, have colored warp threads. The

⁵ R. Pfister, in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* (= *R.d.A.A.*), VI, 1929/30, pls. I, III and p. 1 ff.

C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East* (1937), fig. 31 and p. 55 ff.

⁶ Unpublished.

⁷ Unpublished.

⁸ E. Guimet, *Les Portraits d'Antinoë*, pl. 8.

R. Cox, *Les Soieries d'Art* (1914), pl. 22, 4.

R. Pfister, in *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30, pl. V a.

—, in *Etudes d'Orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de R. Linossier* (= *Etudes Linossier*), 1932, p. 474 n. 1 and pl. LIII.

H. Peirce & R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, II, 1934, pl. 48a.

⁹ A. F. Kendrick, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1918, II p. 133 c.

—, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt*, III (1922), pl. 31.

¹⁰ R. Cox, loc. cit. pl. 22, 3.

R. Pfister, in *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30, pl. Vc.

H. Peirce & R. Tyler, loc. cit. II pl. 48 b.

¹¹ O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, 1st ed., I (1913), fig. 41 (this edition is used throughout this article).

R. Pfister, in *R.d.A.A.* 1929/30, pl. IV.

¹² R. Pfister, in *Etudes Linossier*, pl. LI.

H. Peirce & R. Tyler, loc. cit. II pl. 59 c. Although the places normally assigned to the animal busts are in this case occupied by crescent-shaped objects, the piece corresponds so closely to the other members of our group that it cannot be excluded from the list.

¹³ Only in the piece in Boston are linen threads found among the wefts.

dovetailing of weft threads also seems to be a feature common to the whole group.¹⁴

The crested ornament with which the field of the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry is framed occurs identically on the fragment in Boston. The Brooklyn fragment shows a similar motif. The borders of the two pieces in Lyons are lost, but other fragments, mounted in the same frame and obviously from the same find, again show this same border ornament. Finally, the tapestries, in so far as their provenance is known, all come from one and the same site, namely Antinoë.

Antinoë is also the place where the related silk textiles were found. These have long been recognized as a single group; they are one of several types of ornamental silks peculiar to that site.

(a) RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOOL AND SILK PIECES

It will be our first task to determine the relationship between the tapestries and the silks. This is a question which bears on many other tapestries with parallels among the silks. But in our present context we shall try to solve it only for the small group with which we are immediately concerned.

Pfister contends that the silks are inspired by the tapestries.¹⁵ In order to understand his argument it is necessary at this point to acquaint the reader with Pfister's ideas regarding the origin and chronology of these textiles. Both the tapestries (or at least those in Lyons which are the only ones he discusses) and the silks are according to him of Sassanian origin, and he believes that the rich polychromy and the tapestry technique of the wool textiles is more in accordance with the Persian tradition than the simple color scheme and the twill technique of the silks. Pfister's contention is that twill technique was introduced by the Aramaic weavers who were brought to Persia under King Shapur about the middle of the third century. The silks of our group were made soon after that date, i.e. towards the end of the third century. The Lyons tapestries if not actually earlier in date represent at least genetically an earlier stage and are, at the latest, contemporaneous with the silks.¹⁶

Disregarding for the moment the chronological and geographical aspects of this theory I merely wish to examine it in regard to the relative position of the two groups. It is only fair to point out that at the time when he formulated his opinion Pfister was not yet aware of a number of factors which

¹⁴ Cf. Pfister's remarks on "liures" in the Lyons fragments, *R.d.A.A.*, 1934, p. 82.

¹⁵ *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 18 ff.

he himself subsequently introduced into the discussion. Thus in his later writings¹⁷ he classifies tapestries according to the direction in which the threads are spun, and he contends that all those with a twist to the left are of Egyptian origin, while those with a twist to the right are non-Egyptian. The validity of this criterion in the rigid form in which it was advanced by Pfister has been questioned by other scholars,¹⁸ but in any case it induced Pfister to classify as local Egyptian copies pieces which he had previously regarded as Sassanian.¹⁹ The pieces in Lyons were not, however, re-examined in the light of this new criterion.²⁰

Another point which has some bearing on our problem is Pfister's discovery that not all the "Sassanian" silks from Antinoë are twills. In an article published in 1932²¹ he singles out a few pieces which are executed in another technique similar to that of the Chinese silks of the Han period,²² and these he assigns to the pre-Aramaic period. Among these textiles is one (Musée Guimet no. 1108), which we have tentatively included in our list. With its rows of semicircular cups each surmounted by two objects, which, though not identifiable as animal busts, yet occupy the position assigned to these busts in the other textiles of the group, it evidently is related in its ornamental scheme to the pieces in which we are interested (fig. 6). If we adopt Pfister's own conception of the development, the silk no. 1108 would be proof of the existence of our type of ornament in Sassanian silks of the pre-Aramaic stage, and had Pfister recognized it as a typological model for the silks with animal busts he might have hesitated to claim the same role for the Lyons tapestries. But regardless of the question whether the Aramaic weavers have anything to do with the Antinoë silks, here is a piece which by its technique suggests a relatively early date and thus induces us to conclude that our pattern developed from simple and geometric to elaborate and organic forms, and from monochrome to polychrome effects, which is the opposite of what Pfister had suggested.

If we did not have this silk fragment and if the Lyons fragments were the only tapestries with this type of ornament, it would indeed be difficult to decide whether the woollen pieces precede the silks or vice versa. The basic theme is elaborated about to the same extent in both groups. The

¹⁷ *R.d.A.A.*, 1934, p. 81 f.; *Nouveaux Textiles de Palmyre* (1937), p. 41.

¹⁸ Lamm, loc. cit., pp. 7, 16 f.

¹⁹ E.g., the "jambière" Musée Guimet no. 1251-Lyons no. 243. See *R.d.A.A.*, 1934, p. 33, and below p. 38.

²⁰ *R.d.A.A.*, 1934, p. 82 n. 18.

²¹ *Etudes Linossier*, p. 461 ff.

²² J. F. Flanagan regards this similarity as purely accidental; cf. *Burlington Magazine*, 1935, II p. 92.

Lyons pieces and the silks with animal busts both show alternating rows of at least two different ornaments, the second row being either a variation of the animal motif or an entirely different ornament. On one of the tapestries (Lyons no. 266 b; fig. 3) this second motif is similar to that on one of the silks (Lyons no. 363; fig. 7). In most cases the combination of an architectural base and animal — or human — busts is further enriched by foliate motifs, and it would be difficult to decide whether the tapestries or the silks go further in this respect. The silk in London may perhaps be claimed to be the most advanced and hybrid member of the group. The human masks and animal busts which in Lyons no. 268 b and in Berlin no. 311 occupy different registers are here combined, while the crenellations decorating the bases in Berlin no. 311 and Musée Guimet no. 1148 have been turned upside down and form a kind of organ-pipe motif which crowns the ensemble (fig. 8). There is obviously some development within the group, but it would be hard to maintain that a woollen fabric like Lyons no. 268 b must be earlier than a silk stuff such as Berlin 311. The degree of polychromy is about the same in both groups.²³

But with the addition of Musée Guimet no. 1108 to the silks and of the Dumbarton Oaks and Boston pieces to the tapestries the balance between the two classes becomes very much upset. No. 1108 is by far the most archaic of all the textiles with this type of ornament. There is only one design which is repeated in every row. The only organic object is the "bouquetin" which supports the semicircular cup and this has the rigidity of an abstract ornament. There are hardly any plant motifs and the whole pattern is executed in blue on white ground with no additional colors. It is impossible to regard this piece as a simplified version of the other silks. One cannot imagine an evolution starting with a hybrid pattern like that of the London silk and ending with no. 1108, but one can well imagine the opposite development within our series, especially with the help of intermediate links such as Musée Guimet no. 1148 (fig. 9). Even if no. 1108 did not stand out by its "Han" technique one would still place it at the head of the whole series. It shows the original almost geometric design which has been more and more enriched and elaborated in the other pieces.

The Dumbarton Oaks tapestry and the Boston fragment are at the opposite extreme. The Dumbarton Oaks piece goes much further in the re-interpretation of the original theme than any of the stuffs so far mentioned. The animals have grown from ornamental protomes stiffly stuck on their bases into lifelike half-length figures which seem to be using the ped-

²³ If anything the silks are richer in color than the tapestries and not poorer as Pfister contends.

estals as a kind of springboard. The full length figures of birds flanking a fruit basket have little in common with the bird protomes on the silks, and the foliate motifs are developed into a real acanthus scroll. The heart-shaped blossoms between the animals are also new. Finally there is a much richer color scheme than on any of the other pieces.

A further development along these lines must lead to a dissolution of the original pattern and this is indeed the stage reached by the designer of the Boston fragment. The strict alignment of the motifs is abandoned, heads and flowers are loosely interspersed and the once dominating pair of animals recedes to a minor position (fig. 4). With this piece we reach the end of the whole evolution, and there may be some significance in the fact that it is the only one of these tapestries to contain linen.²⁴

It is very unlikely that Pfister, had he known the Dumbarton Oaks and Boston textiles, would have placed them ahead of the silks. There can be no doubt that they are derivatives of the Antinoë silks, not their prototypes. We found that the case of the two fragments in Lyons is not so clear. They are on the same level of evolution as most of the silks, though the priority of the latter as a class is established by fragment no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet.²⁵

It is well known that silk patterns were copied in wool. Coptic graves have yielded many imitations in tapestry of the so-called "Alexandrian" silks.²⁶ In many cases the existence of a prototype in silk has been suspected even if no actual model has survived. But tapestries modelled after Antinoë silks are still rare²⁷ and of these the Dumbarton Oaks hanging is the most outstanding example.

In recognizing the priority of the silks, if not over our entire group of tapestries, at least over the piece at Dumbarton Oaks, we have found the immediate prototype of our field pattern. But at the same time we are confronted with a new problem since it is by no means certain where these silks were made.

²⁴ The Brooklyn fragment shows the animal motif altogether freed from its original context. Although this is a monochrome piece it must be at least as advanced as the Dumbarton Oaks textile with which it has some affinities (fig. 5).

²⁵ For two other pieces in the Lyons group — nos. 266c and 268e — Toll has previously refuted Pfister's claim that they are prototypes of similar designs on Antinoë silks, and has convincingly shown that they are dependent on them; cf. *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V, 1932, p. 300 f.

²⁶ Cf. Falke loc. cit. p. 20 f.

²⁷ Cf. Falke loc. cit. p. 21 f.; see also note 25 above.

(b) THE ORIGIN OF THE SILK MODELS

The origin of the silk textiles from Antinoë is one of the thorniest and most hotly debated questions in the history of late antique art. Pfister, who, as we mentioned before, regards them as purely Sassanian, has conveniently summarized the earlier theories.²⁸ To his summary must now be added Dr. Ackerman's chapter on Sassanian Textiles in the first volume of the *Survey of Persian Art*, in which she denies the Sassanian origin of nearly all of these silks, the discussion in the second volume of Peirce and Tyler's *L'Art Byzantin* where they are classified as Egyptian, though under Persian and Byzantine influence, and the remarks by C. J. Lamm who stresses the Sassanian character of both the silks and the related tapestries in Lyons without however committing himself as to the provenance of any particular piece.²⁹

The issue is largely one of Egypt versus the Sassanian Empire. It is not possible in our present context to deal with this question comprehensively; we shall have to confine ourselves to the silks immediately connected with the tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks (see above p. 10).

The main reason for attributing this particular group of silks to Persia is the frequent occurrence of the addorsed animal protomes in Iranian art. The motif has often been traced back to the columns of Susa (fig. 11), Persepolis, and Naksh-e Rostam, and, much beyond these, to seals and other small objects of the third and second millennium B.C.³⁰ Undoubtedly, the double protomes have a very long, if not altogether continuous history in Iran from prehistoric to Sassanian times, and beyond. But the question is whether — especially at the advanced period with which we are dealing — they can be regarded as a hallmark of Persian origin. There is a steadily lengthening list of Greek examples which show the motif.³¹ More important from our point of view are the Roman instances to which Professor Zahn and Miss Roes have drawn attention. Double protomes occur sev-

²⁸ *Etudes Linossier*, p. 461 f.

²⁹ Lamm loc. cit. p. 55 ff. — Lamm refers to a fuller treatment of the subject in *Monde Oriental*, XXX, 1936, p. 43 ff. I have not been able to find this issue in any American library.

³⁰ R. Zahn, in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (1923), p. 442 ff. — R. Pfister, in *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30, p. 15. — A. Roes, in *Revue des Études Anciennes* (= *R.d.E.A.*), 37, 1935, p. 289 ff., with further references. Miss Roes regards the double protomes as Iranian solar and lunar symbols.

³¹ Zahn, loc. cit. p. 443 and notes 1–4. A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (1933), p. 31, fig. 23, pp. 93 ff., 108 ff., 118 ff.; and in *Revue Archéologique*, 1934, II p. 142. See also capitals from Cyprus (British Museum, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, II pl. 27 no. 1510: 4th cent. B.C.), and Arak-el-Emir (H. C. Butler, *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905*, Div. II A, Part I, 1907, p. 9, fig. 5, no. 11a; p. 12, fig. 6, no. 11; pl. III; for date cf. p. 18: 3rd or 2nd century B.C.).

eral times on Roman gems³² as well as on coins³³ and in metalwork — witness the Dolichenus plaques in Budapest,³⁴ a votive tablet from Bala Hissar in the British Museum,³⁵ and a ring in Berlin.³⁶ To these may be added a very late classical example, which has not, to my knowledge, been previously quoted in this connection; I refer to certain shield insignia depicted in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.³⁷

But it must be said that, as far as we can see, the motif was never very popular in Roman art.³⁸ Also, by and large, it was not absorbed by artists

³² Zahn, loc. cit., p. 443 f.; for the Vienna Cameo see F. Eichler & E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (1927), pl. 7 and p. 50 f. — The gem illustrated by Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, no. 11074, has a striking parallel in an unpublished cameo in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. No. 29.175.4). Miss B. Segall has been kind enough to draw my attention to this piece.

³³ Zahn, loc. cit., p. 444; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I, 1923, pl. 24, no. 12.

³⁴ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 1914 p. 616 fig. 488.

³⁵ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum* (1921), p. 58 no. 227 and fig. 66; Roes, in *R.d.E.A.*, 1935, p. 296 and fig. 7.

³⁶ Zahn, loc. cit. pl. XIV and p. 441 ff. The ring is regarded by Zahn as Parthian work. It is engraved with a female bust, according to Zahn a portrait of the Parthian queen Musa, and with adorsed half-length figures of lions and horses, which Zahn interprets as astral symbols appropriate to the Queen in her capacity as Thea Urania.

³⁷ The manuscript is preserved only in third hand copies. Cf. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876) (illustrations taken from Munich Ms. Lat. 10291, A.D. 1542), p. 12 no. 20, p. 16 nos. 13 and 20, p. 20 nos. 11, 12, p. 24 no. 21 = H. Omont, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Facsimile edition of Paris Ms. Lat. 9661, 15th century) ff. 20, 22, 24, 26. For a discussion of one variety of shield insignia with animal protomes in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (animal heads facing each other) see A. Alföldi in *Germania* 19, 1935, pp. 324 ff. This type is derived by Alföldi from Celtic or Germanic sources.

³⁸ Cf. Roes, in *R.d.E.A.*, 1935, p. 300. — The motif appears to be confined largely to a rather closely circumscribed sphere. In many instances it is associated with imperial or royal portraits (coins; Berlin ring; Vienna cameo; Berlin cameo 11074 and its counterpart in New York, cf. above n. 32) or with military matters (Dolichenus plaques; *Notitia Dignitatum*; see also a standard with horses reproduced by C. S. T. Bernd, *Das Wappenwesen der Griechen und Römer* (1841), pl. 7, 7 and p. 371). Often it has astrological connotations (for the Berlin ring and the Dolichenus plaques see Zahn, loc. cit. p. 444 ff.; for the coins and the cameos in Berlin and Vienna cf. Mattingly, loc. cit. pp. cx, cxxxviii: Capricorn as the natal sign of Augustus; for the votive tablet in the British Museum see Walters, loc. cit. p. 58: bust of Helios in center; for the intaglios Berlin nos. 3612–3622 see A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (1896), p. 156 and Zahn loc. cit. p. 447 n. 2; the animals on the shield insignia in the *Notitia Dignitatum* may also have an astral significance, on the analogy of Domaszewski's explanation of the animals on the signa of the earlier imperial era: cf. A. Domaszewski, "Die Tierbilder der Signa," in *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, XV, 1892 pp. 182 ff.; see however Ch. Renel, *Cultes Militaires de Rome: Les Enseignes* (1903), p. 214 and passim, for limitations of this theory). Finally, in some cases at least, the motif appears in a context which suggests direct oriental influence (for the Berlin ring see above, n. 36; for the Dolichenus plaques see Zahn loc. cit. p. 444 f. and F. Sarre, "Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen," in *Klio*, III, 1903, p. 333 ff., especially pp. 342–344). — Miss Roes (*R.d.E.A.*, 1935 p. 298 f.) has raised the question whether the Greeks, in using the double protome motif, were aware of the symbolic significance which she believes it had in Persian iconography. As far as Roman art is concerned it would certainly seem that, in

in the sense that it became a classical motif expressed in classical style. Practically the only exception to this rule are certain capitals of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in which the Persian prototype, as found in Susa, is fused with the Corinthian capital, the animal figures taking the place of the volutes. The capitals in Eleusis³⁹ as well as those from the temples of Mars Ultor⁴⁰ and Concordia⁴¹ in Rome are examples of this re-interpretation of the severe oriental prototype in a baroque Hellenistic spirit. Thus, on the capital from the Temple of Concordia, we see animals emerging from the foliage in the playful and easy manner familiar from the "inhabited" acanthus and vine scrolls of the period.⁴²

On the whole the balance is still heavily on the side of the Orient. But it so happens that the Hellenistic and Roman animal capitals have a long line of successors in Mediterranean art of the early Byzantine period. Strangely enough, the bearing these capitals might have on the problems raised by our silk textiles has never been discussed, despite the fact that both groups of objects belong to the same general period, and scholars have derived them from the same oriental sources.

The capitals show that the double protomes enjoyed great popularity in the Mediterranean world during the early Byzantine period. Yet I believe that in the final reckoning they provide an argument against rather than for a Mediterranean origin of the silks.

It is necessary for our purpose to deal with the animal capitals in some detail. As a characteristic feature of the architectural decoration of Early Christian churches in all parts of the Mediterranean world they have been the subject of many previous enquiries.⁴³

But it has not been sufficiently stressed that among these capitals two principal types may be distinguished which are *a priori* different. The first type⁴⁴ is usually a variety of the "Theodosian" capital with the animals arising from behind a row of acanthus leaves and replacing the volutes, just as in the classical examples mentioned above. The capitals of the second

many instances, the motif, far from being a merely decorative device, had a very pregnant meaning. Cf. however Miss Roes' remarks on an Arretine vessel from Foxton, Cambs., with horse protomes (ibid. p. 299 and fig. 9; cf. *Antiquaries Journal*, VI, 1926 pl. XXIX, p. 177).

³⁹ G. Libertini, in *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica d'Atene*, II, 1916 p. 211 fig. 9.

H. Hoermann, *Die inneren Propylaeen von Eleusis* (1932), p. 57 ff. and pls. 47-50. (Date about mid 1st cent. B.C.)

⁴⁰ C. Ricci, in *Capitolium*, VI, 1930, p. 172. Our fig. 14.

⁴¹ C. Ricci, in *Felix Ravenna*, N.S. II, 1931, p. 27. Our fig. 13.

⁴² The capital from the Didymaion in Miletus (cf. *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1924, Phil.-Hist. Klasse no. 1, p. 21 fig. 11) is so badly preserved that it is difficult to decide whether it belongs to the same group.

⁴³ Cf. Appendix, bibliography.

⁴⁴ See Appendix nos. 1-30. Figs. 15, 16, 51-73.

type⁴⁵ are neatly divided into two zones by a horizontal ribbon, the lower part being either rendered as a basket or else filled with some foliate ornament, while the upper part is occupied by the animal busts. Most archaeologists dealing with these capitals lump both types together under the heading "animal capitals." Kautzsch treats them both as "capitals with two zones" whereas actually only the second type shows a clear division into two zones. The most important fact from our point of view is that the classification of these capitals according to the presence or absence of a horizontal division very closely coincides with a classification according to the type of animal busts employed.

Practically all the examples of the first group, i.e. those without a horizontal division line, show half-length figures of animals emerging with their forelegs from behind the foliage, their backs joining or very nearly joining in the center of each side.⁴⁶ On most capitals of the second type we find only very short busts, usually only head and shoulders, rigidly stuck on the horizontal division line and clearly separated from each other. Often another figure is inserted between them. There are important exceptions to this rule, capitals which are divided into two zones and yet are decorated with half-length figures of animals with forelegs shown and backs growing together.⁴⁷ Moreover among the capitals decorated with birds instead of animals the distinction between type I⁴⁸ and type II⁴⁹ cannot be drawn so clearly, since full-length figures are represented in both cases. But even among these, whenever there is a horizontal division line we usually find the birds widely separated and not heraldically addorsed.⁵⁰

The two types belong to two successive stages in the development of the early Byzantine capital. The vast majority of the specimens in class I⁵¹ have the "feingezahnter" acanthus leaves, and many of them also the torus decoration, of the so-called "Theodosian" capital and are generally regarded as contemporary with these. There is remarkably little development within the group, which suggests that they are not spread out over a long period. Probably among the earliest instances of Byzantine capitals with "feingezahnter" acanthus are those on the Golden Gate in Constantinople (propylon), which can be dated around the year 447 A.D.,⁵² while more developed

⁴⁵ See Appendix nos. 31-44. Figs. 17, 18, 74-89.

⁴⁶ For exceptions see Appendix nos. 29, 30. Figs. 72, 73.

⁴⁷ Appendix nos. 39-44. Figs. 18, 83-89.

⁴⁸ Appendix nos. 59-76. Figs. 90-106.

⁴⁹ Appendix nos. 77-92. Figs. 107-123.

⁵⁰ For exceptions see Appendix nos. 91, 92. Figs. 122, 123.

⁵¹ I.e. all those which are marked by an asterisk in our Appendix.

⁵² R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (1936), p. 124 f. — See, however, B. Meyer, in *Mnemo-*

forms, such as we find on the animal capitals, occur in the nave and in the narthex of the basilica of St. John of the Studion (463 A.D.).⁵³ Our first type therefore belongs to the second half of the fifth century. The members of the second group, in so far as they are datable, all belong to the sixth century.⁵⁴

In the last resort both types can be traced back to the animal capitals of ancient Persia. But the immediate antecedents of the first type are the Hellenistic and Roman capitals mentioned above. A comparison between the capital from the Hippodrome in Constantinople⁵⁵ (fig. 15) and that from the Temple of Mars Ultor⁵⁶ (fig. 14) or a comparison of one of the numerous ram capitals (fig. 16) with that from the Temple of Concordia⁵⁷ (fig. 13) leaves no doubt in this respect. The only problem is why this type should have suddenly re-emerged in the middle of the fifth century, after an interval of three hundred years. No specimens from the intervening centuries have so far been found.

The derivation of the second type sets much graver problems which cannot be dealt with exhaustively in this context. Kautzsch speaks of the capitals of this group as though they had gradually developed out of the first group through a process of transformation of the acanthus leaves into an ornament of more decidedly horizontal direction such as palmette friezes and vine scrolls. But this does not take into account the difference in the composition of the upper zone which we found to be characteristic of most examples in group II. It seems that this is *a priori* a different type, especially as there exists in the fifth century, side by side with type I, a forerunner of the capital with two distinct zones. I refer to specimens such as those from the Golden Gate⁵⁸ where we find, above a clear horizontal division line, birds set far apart and not heraldically addorsed. While von Alten in his study of the capitals with baskets in the lower zone denies that they have any connection with the Golden Gate type, Kautzsch admits a possible influence of these fifth century capitals on the two-zone capitals of the sixth century. But the origin of the Golden Gate type itself is highly problematical.⁵⁹

synon Th. Wiegand (1938), p. 95 ff. — For E. Wiegand's comments on this article, see *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1938, p. 549.

⁵³ R. Kautzsch loc. cit. pp. 131, 135.

⁵⁴ Appendix nos. 31, 33, 34, 83, 85.

⁵⁵ Appendix no. 5.

⁵⁶ See above p. 17 n. 40.

⁵⁷ See above p. 17 n. 41.

⁵⁸ See Appendix p. 66 n. 10.

⁵⁹ E. Wiegand, in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 39, 1914, p. 36 ff.

W. von Alten, *Geschichte des Altchristlichen Kapitells*, p. 53; F. Kautzsch, loc. cit. p. 164.

Let us now return to the animal protomes on the Antinoë silks and see whether they can in any way be related to those on the capitals. The principal point is a negative one: the motif as rendered on the silks has nothing to do with the capitals of type I, i.e. with those derived from Graeco-Roman art. At this moment we are concerned only with the silks, not with the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry, and as far as the silks are concerned it is quite clear that they do not show half-length bodies, but, as a rule, short schematized busts stuck on a horizontal basis and usually separated from one another.

The busts are obviously more akin in composition to the capitals of type II. An explanation of this type, which probably has a very complex origin, cannot be attempted here. All we need say is that it has not been possible so far to trace the short busts back to classical sources,⁶⁰ while examples exist in Sassanian art and in works obviously under Sassanian influence. There are Sassanian seals with this type of bust⁶¹ and there is, above all, the Phoenix mosaic in Antioch (fig. 19).⁶² The ram protomes on this mosaic (and on a replica in another house at Antioch), while strangers in the Syrian metropolis, have such close analogies in Sassanian seals and stucco reliefs that they cannot be regarded, and never have been regarded, as anything but an immediate offshoot of Persian art.⁶³

The animal protomes on the silks are as close to those on the seals and mosaics as they are distant from the classical type of animal capital and its Byzantine derivatives of the fifth century. It seems justified, therefore, to speak of a Persian as against a Hellenized tradition and to that extent the attribution of our silks to Sassanian art which so many scholars have advocated seems correct.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ C. Ricci (*Felix Ravenna*, N.S. II, 1931, p. 27) has published a "Roman" capital with busts of this type in Modena. The illustration does not permit a definite judgment, but the workmanship hardly looks classical.

⁶¹ A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art* (= *Persian Survey*) I, 1938, p. 791 fig. 271 b.

⁶² *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (= *Antioch*), II, 1938, pl. 42 f.

⁶³ D. Wilbour, in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art*, V, 1937 p. 22.

J. Lassus, in *Monuments Piot*, 36, 1938 p. 117 ff.

C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (1938), p. 44 f.

⁶⁴ The suggestion may be made that the animal busts on the silks originally had a symbolical meaning similar to that suggested above (n. 38) for the Roman derivatives of this ancient oriental motif. The silk ornaments, too, may have a connection with astrology, and, by implication, with royal (or military) authority. Thus the cock, which occurs several times, was not only a sun symbol (cf. *Persian Survey*, I pp. 861, 880; Roes, in *R.d.E.A.*, 1935, p. 297) but was associated in Persia with military insignia (cf. Sarre, in *Klio*, III p. 348 f.; see *ibid.* p. 353 for the use of silk for military standards). The lions and horses of the Dumbarton Oaks textile, which we presume to go back to a silk prototype, are old solar symbols frequently associated with royal portraits (cf. Zahn's remarks on the Berlin ring, quoted in n. 36 above;

Other motifs which occur on these textiles are also of Sassanian origin. The three-pronged stalks on the Berlin silk, for instance, while not admitting of a derivation from classical sources, can be closely matched on Sassanian seals.⁶⁵ The crenellated forms on the same textile and on the fragment no. 1148 in the Musée Guimet have often been called Sassanian in view of their frequent occurrence on Persian royal crowns. The jewelled decoration on the bodies of the cocks of the Berlin silk is according to Toll a typically Sassanian feature.⁶⁶

Although the Persian background of these silk stuffs from Antinoë seems clearly established, there is no proof of their actually having been manufactured within the boundaries of the Sassanian Empire. We still do not know whether they came to Egypt as imported goods or whether they are local imitations of Persian prototypes. The Antioch mosaics clearly prove that at one time at least Persian motifs were faithfully copied in the coastal countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, and may be taken to show that the addorsed animal busts came to enjoy a certain popularity in the Byzantine world. The animal capitals of type II, if they should prove to derive their protomes from the same sources, would also be an instance of this oriental vogue.

It may well be that the Antinoë silks represent a Persian fashion in Egypt just as the Antioch mosaics indicate such a fashion in Syria. It is even possible to argue that, whereas the mosaics show the Persian motif in an entirely undiluted form there is in the silks a certain admixture of local elements. We found that in some cases the pattern is enriched by rows of human masks surrounded by foliage. Herzfeld has compared these to the "grylloi" frequent on Iranian seals,⁶⁷ but a closer analogy is provided by the well-known group of capitals with "foliated masks" which are particularly frequent in Egypt.⁶⁸ The necklaces with which the birds on some of the silks are adorned (Musée Guimet no. 1148, V. & A. no. 828) are reminiscent of

A. Roes, in *R.d.E.A.*, 1935 p. 296 f.; Ph. Ackerman, in the *Persian Survey*, I pp. 849 ff., 861, 871, 880). The bouquetin of silk no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet, on the other hand, may be a moon symbol (Ackerman *ibid.* p. 844), a hypothesis which might at the same time explain the crescent-shaped objects on the semicircular cups. But granted the symbolical origin of these motifs, it still remains doubtful whether, or to what extent, the weavers were conscious of their significance. In the case of the derivatives in wool, including the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry, the meaning of the original symbolism had almost certainly been lost. See below p. 42f.

⁶⁵ *Persian Survey*, IV pl. 256 J.

⁶⁶ *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, III, 1929, p. 181 f. — The horse protomes on the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry are decorated in a similar way.

⁶⁷ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (1927), p. 68.

⁶⁸ R. Kautzsch *loc. cit.* pl. 45 and p. 213 (with further references).

many similar objects worn by figures in stone and terracotta from Roman and Coptic Egypt.⁶⁹

Taking silk no. 1108 at the Musée Guimet as a starting point we found a good deal of enrichment in the other textiles of our group. Some of these enrichments such as the animal protomes, which our earliest piece shows only in what might be called an embryonic shape, must be put down to the Persian artists themselves. But it may well be that the Persian ornament thus developed was then further enriched by Egyptian weavers and that most of the pieces found at Antinoë are local handiwork.

Before we content ourselves with this compromise formula to explain the origin of our silks a few words must be said about the design as a whole. This is much more difficult to localize than the basic motif which most scholars accept as Sassanian. Yet the peculiar arrangement of the pattern must be regarded as one of the main characteristics of our group, since it is essentially the same in all pieces, including no. 1108 at the Musée Guimet which we regard as the earliest specimen.

Repeat patterns are very common in the decorative arts of all countries during the late antique period. But ours is of a very special kind. Most repeat patterns are arranged in such a way that the basic unit repeats itself on two axes — either on both a horizontal and a vertical axis or on two diagonals — so that the rows can be continued indefinitely in all directions. (Cf. e.g. the field of the Phoenix mosaic.) Our units are arranged on horizontal axes only. The “staggering” prevents the formation of vertical axes and yet the diagonals which usually play at least a subsidiary role in “staggered” compositions cannot assert themselves since this would require a much wider spacing.

Another peculiarity of our textiles is that the individual units are juxtaposed in an extremely abrupt manner. There is no attempt to link them up even in the horizontal sense (the only exception being the garlands in the beaks of the cocks on the Berlin silk) and yet they are divided only by very narrow intervals without any kind of frame.

It would be difficult to name any other group of textiles from Egypt (excepting other Antinoë silks) on which these two characteristics are so pronounced. Indeed we may say that these principles of decoration are foreign to the Mediterranean world altogether. However frequently we meet with repeat patterns in mosaics and sculptures during the late antique pe-

⁶⁹ E.g. C. M. Kauffmann, *Aegyptische Terrakotten der griechisch-roemischen und koptischen Epoche* (1913), figs. 60, 62.

U. Monneret de Villard, *La Scultura ad Ahnas* (1923), figs. 19, 21, 30.

E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurale Greche e Greco-Egizie del Museo di Alessandria* (Monuments de l’Égypte Gréco-Romaine II, 2), 1934, pl. 32 no. 154; pl. 54 no. 266; pl. 114 no. 658.

riod they are but rarely arranged in horizontal rows. There are exceptions such as a mosaic from Carthage in the British Museum⁷⁰ which shows chalices tightly aligned in "staggered" horizontal rows. But in this case the units are very definitely connected by intersecting arcades. In other cases the units are entirely disconnected, but then they are spread out in such a way that secondary axes may be discerned, either in the vertical or in the diagonal.⁷¹

Our pattern could be created by means of a cylindrical seal bearing just one or two of the basic units.⁷² This is the explanation offered for our design by Miss Frances Morris in her unpublished catalogue of the Dumbar-ton Oaks textiles. If a cylinder seal were rolled over a plain surface in succeeding registers its impressions would stand side by side unconnected and yet in tightly packed rows such as we find on the textiles. But we do not know that seals were ever used to produce all-over patterns such as might have inspired the weavers of our silks, quite apart from the fact that the cylinder seals we have are much too early in date. A similar technique must have been used by the craftsmen who covered the walls of Sassanian palaces — and later on those of Samarra — with stucco decorations. These decorations consist of rows of impressions from one and the same wooden mould.⁷³ Herzfeld has stressed the point that in the First Style of Samarra there are few real all-over designs such as scale and net patterns. The motifs employed are mostly derived from frieze compositions, and in many cases the all-over design is produced through repetition of these frieze motifs in succeeding rows without any vertical connection.⁷⁴ But though in these cases the repetitive use of one and the same mould would have actually favored complete isolation of every unit, care has always been taken to connect them at least in the horizontal sense. An effect more akin to that of our textiles is produced by certain stucco decorations of the Sassanian period,⁷⁵ but there again the units are linked up at least in one direction and moreover they are arranged on two very clearly emphasized axes (fig. 20).

⁷⁰ R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (1933), fig. 140 p. 124. — For a similar pavement in El-Mouassat see L. Poinssot & R. Lantier, in *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques* (1924), pp. 171–176; *Atti del III° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 1932*, 1934 p. 394 ff. and figs. 4, 7–9.

⁷¹ E.g. mosaic in the vaults of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (A. Colasanti, *L'Arte Bisantina in Italia*, pl. 7) and a pavement in Antioch (*Antioch*, II, 1938, pl. 70 no. 89).

⁷² G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, I (1927), p. 396 fig. 296 (3000 B.C.).

⁷³ E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra* (1923), p. 10.

⁷⁴ Herzfeld, loc. cit. pp. 12, 62, 87 ff.

⁷⁵ *Syria*, XV, 1934, pl. II A, C.; *Persian Survey*, I fig. 186 b; IV pl. 172 a. — See also below p. 45 n. 181.

Nevertheless, these stuccoes with their closely packed tiers of repetitive units are perhaps the closest parallels to our textiles which can be found, and taking into account the absence of any equally good parallels from the Mediterranean countries they may serve as an additional proof of the Sassanian origin of the Antinoë silks.

In summarizing our analysis we may say that both as regards arrangement and basic motif our silks from Antinoë are strangers in Egypt and in the Mediterranean world generally. The addorsed animal busts have their closest parallels on Sassanian seals and on Antioch mosaics which in their turn link up with Sassanian seals and stucco reliefs. The arrangement of the pattern also recalls Sassanian stucco reliefs. Although most of the actually extant pieces may have been made in Egypt the type is undoubtedly of Sassanian origin.

(c) TRANSFORMATION OF THE SILK MODELS IN THE
DUMBARTON OAKS TAPESTRY

It has not been possible to draw an exact line of demarcation between silks which are Sassanian originals and those which are Pseudo-Sassanian work made in the Mediterranean sphere. But we must now ask how our tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks fits into the picture. We have already recognized in it a derivative of the silks, and in tracing the latter back to an oriental source its own oriental background is clearly established. But we have also seen that certain new features appear in this piece and these features now demand our attention.

For one thing, the animal protomes are completely changed. They have become half-length figures clearly joined back to back, their forelegs raised as though they were about to jump from their bases. In other words they suggest some adaptation to those of group I of the Early Christian animal capitals, which, as we saw, have their roots in the Graeco-Roman tradition. A comparison of our horses and lions with the rams on a capital from S. Apollinare in Classe (figs. 16 and 21) for instance is extremely suggestive; but we have seen that this type of protomes also survives in certain specimens of group II (fig. 18).

There is in our animals a definite suggestion of a third dimension. Owing to the fact that both forelegs are visible we conceive of them as real bodies. Moreover, some of the lions turn their heads in three-quarter view. The purely two-dimensional character of the silk design is abandoned. The animals emerge from the plain, abstract background. They seem to have taken on weight and volume and this, combined with the liveliness of their movements and facial expressions, makes them more real and at the

same time more comparable to their counterparts in stone. Every unit in our design is to some extent a plastic entity and it is only through the fact that the rigid alignment in rows is maintained that we still carry away the impression of an abstract all-over pattern.

The purpose seems to have been to change the placid ornamental animals of the silks into fighting beasts. The whole pattern is galvanized into intense motion. The lions, particularly, have entered into communication with their opponents across the gulf which separates each unit from its neighbours (see above p. 7). In fact, they seem to be about to jump at each other, their eyes protruding, their tongues stretching forth from their distended mouths.⁷⁶ An element of drama has been introduced which was entirely absent from the silks.

The semicircular bases by which the animals are supported hark back to the most primitive of the silks, no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet. They are similar in outline to those on this silk and, like these, they are perched on a short stem (figs. 6, 12). But while on the Guimet piece, and indeed on all the silks, these bases are rendered as an abstract linear design, on our tapestry they are decorated with another animal scene consisting of two addorsed birds on either side of a basket of fruit. By attaching these figures to the cups a second plane is introduced, a distinction of foreground and background, and a plastic solidity not possessed by the cups on the Guimet silk.

The bird motif which is quite naturalistic in design—in marked contrast to the heraldic animal ornament on the silks—throws an interesting light on the question of the artistic milieu in which the Dumbarton Oaks textile was made. Oriental by origin, the symmetric confrontation of animals or birds on either side of a central motif had been popular throughout the Mediterranean world ever since the early imperial era.⁷⁷ But addorsed birds with their heads turned are not so frequent. They occur on a group of Byzantine capitals⁷⁸ which Wulff assigns partly to the ninth, partly to the twelfth century, a dating which will require further discussion. For the moment the important point is that Wulff⁷⁹ traces the origin of the design on these capitals back to early Islamic and ultimately to Sassanian art, because in one case at least the birds portrayed are parrots (which according

⁷⁶ This detail is perhaps inspired by the models used for the animals on the border. See below p. 41, n. 159.

⁷⁷ A. Alföldi, in *Acta Archaeologica*, V (1934), p. 122 ff.

⁷⁸ G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des Sculptures* (1914), II no. 751 p. 551. O. Wulff, in *Ästhetische Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 39 (1918), cols. 248 ff. and figs. 91, 92; see also *ibid.* 40, 1919, col. 33 fig. 18. Our figs. 22, 23.

⁷⁹ *Loc. cit.* 1918 col. 250 ff., 1919 col. 32 ff.

to him do not figure in the iconographic tradition of Byzantium) and also because we find strikingly similar compositions on Islamic terracotta reliefs from Mesopotamia and on other oriental objects. He thinks that silk textiles were the vehicle which brought this motif from the Orient to Constantinople, and if this could be proved we should be able to conclude that our birds, like the basic pattern of our textile, descend from Sassanian silks.

But Wulff's argument is fallacious. The parrot does occur in early Byzantine art⁸⁰ and so does the motif of the addorsed birds. There is for instance a well-known group of crescent-shaped ear-rings—usually assigned to the sixth and seventh centuries⁸¹—which are decorated with birds in openwork. It is true that in most cases the birds face each other. But there are examples on which they are represented back to back,⁸² and there is one—though very degenerate—specimen from Kerch in the British Museum⁸³ on which they turn their heads in the manner of the birds on Wulff's capitals and on our textile. More important from our point of view is the evidence of a fresco from Bawit⁸⁴ which, though not datable with any precision, certainly belongs to the early Byzantine period (see below).

The motif, therefore, seems to have a longer tradition in the Byzantine world than in the Orient proper, and the Islamic specimens adduced by Wulff are much too late in date to prove its Mesopotamian origin. To be sure, like all heraldic animal designs, it may ultimately be rooted in oriental art.⁸⁵ But, if so, it was adopted and popularized by Byzantine artists at an early date while its existence in Sassanian art has not so far been proved. The only possible exception is a silk stuff from Antinoë (Lyons 397/Berlin 312) which shows human masks flanked by birds with heads reversed. This example is of interest in so far as it shows that our weaver may have found among the Antinoë silks a model for the bird motif also.⁸⁶ But since this is one of the more hybrid specimens among these silks it may itself not be a pure Sassanian product. At best it proves that the motif was derived from

⁸⁰ W. de Grueneisen, *Ste. Marie Antique* (1911), fig. 113.

⁸¹ B. Segall, *Museum Benaki Athen; Katalog der Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1938), no. 242.

⁸² Budapest: J. Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, III (1905), pl. 281, 3. Butera: *Mélanges offerts à M. G. Schlumberger*, II (1924), p. 398.

⁸³ 1923-7-16-68. Unpublished.

⁸⁴ J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la Necropole de Baouit* (1904), pls. 66, 72. Our figs. 24, 25.

⁸⁵ Addorsed animals with heads reversed on either side of a central motif occur on Babylonian cylinder seals. Cf. Contenau loc. cit. p. 391 fig. 293. For an early Western derivative see P. Jacobsthal, in *Burlington Magazine*, 67, 1935, p. 121 and pl. III B (La Tène girdle hook from Weisskirchen).

⁸⁶ *R.d.A.A.*, 1929-30 pl. IV = our fig. 27. Note that our birds like those on this silk hold ribbons in their beaks.

Sassanian art after all, but it must still be maintained that artists in the Mediterranean region took it over already during the early Byzantine period.

With regard to the rendering of the theme on our textile there is nothing to suggest a non-Mediterranean source. The birds are not essentially different from those on a host of Coptic textiles and often on these textiles we find them associated with fruit baskets.⁸⁷ The birds on the Bawit fresco are also very similar and here again we find fruit baskets in the same composition (figs. 24, 25). If only a small fragment of our textile had been found showing nothing but a pair of these birds no one would hesitate to call it ordinary Coptic work.

Thus the semicircular cups of the Guimet silk have been enriched by a motif which is entirely in accordance with Mediterranean tradition. The process is the same as that we observed in the animal protomes which, as we saw, revert to a type familiar on Byzantine capitals.

Moreover, in this case again a comparison with a group of capitals suggested itself and we wonder whether this can be pure coincidence. The group discussed by Wulff includes a small "cubic" type to which three specimens in Berlin as well as one in the Museum in Constantinople belong, and a more elaborate type at S. Marco in Venice with an apparently close parallel at Sta. Sophia in Trebizond.⁸⁸ It can hardly be denied that in the case of the first of these two types the resemblance with our textile extends not only to the bird motif but to the shape of the cup itself. We are almost led to believe that our weaver intended to represent such a capital (figs. 21-23). The frieze of stylized leaves at the top edge of the cups might well be a schematic rendering of an abacus ornament.⁸⁹

But there are serious difficulties of a chronological kind. Wulff assigns the three small bird capitals in Berlin to the twelfth century. I think I may at this point anticipate the discussion of the date of our textile to the extent of saying that it cannot possibly be of so late a date. If the capitals of this type really all belong to the twelfth century they cannot have exerted

⁸⁷ O. Wulff-W. F. Volbach, *Spätantike und Koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden* (1926), pl. 14.

R. Pfister, *Tissus Coptes du Musée du Louvre* (= Louvre) (1932), pls. 5, 25.

W. F. Volbach, *Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Stoffe (Kataloge des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz no. 10)* (1932), pl. 12 no. 226 = our fig. 26 (same composition as on our textile).

⁸⁸ Capital in S. Marco: Wulff, in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 39, 1918, fig. 95. — Capital in Trebizond: J. Strzygowski, in: *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique*, 19, 1895 p. 520 (no illustration). — In an appendix to his article Wulff also published an impost from Constantinople in Berlin which has the same motif on one of its sides ("9th century").

⁸⁹ For this frieze cf. a pedestal from Saqqara, J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-1908* (III), 1909, pl. 29, 4.

any influence on our designer. But Mendel attributes the specimen in Constantinople to the sixth century and this is also the date originally accepted by Wulff for the capitals in Berlin. We saw that some of the reasons which induced Wulff to change his opinion are not valid. Still, he may be right in assuming that these particular specimens are mid-Byzantine. But the "cubic" shape is rooted in early Byzantine tradition⁹⁰ and so, as we saw, is the bird motif. It is therefore quite possible that these capitals copy an early Byzantine type.⁹¹

Even if the type did exist it is, of course, doubtful whether our textile design was influenced by it. The shape of the cups was given by the silks (cf. no. 1108), the bird motif existed independently (cf. Antinoë silk Lyons/Berlin, Bawit fresco). But there is, as we said before, the suggestion of a block-like, solid quality in these cups, and the fact that they serve as pedestals for the animals actually compels us to conceive of them as three-dimensional objects.

Supposing, then, that it is not pure coincidence that there are two motifs in our pattern which remind us of capitals, we might even go one step further and compare the whole unit — animals plus cups — to a Byzantine animal capital with two zones (type II of the animal capitals, see above). Strictly speaking, the bird capital and the two-zone capital are mutually exclusive types. But if our artist had the imagination to "weave" representations of column capitals into a textile design which by origin contains no suggestion of architecture, he may also have been bold enough to merge objects which could not exist together in physical reality into the kind of harmonious unity that is so easily effected in dreams.

We now turn to the foliated scrolls which form the lower story of our units. The three-story arrangement again connects the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry with no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet, the only one of the silks that has an additional motif below the basis or cup. But the scroll itself we find on a large number of Coptic "purple" textiles. There we often find the same spirals of leaves and the same blossoms on offshoots in the centre and in

⁹⁰ R. Kautzsch loc. cit. pls. 41 ff.

⁹¹ The same applies to Wulff's other class of which the above-mentioned capital in S. Marco in Venice is an example (see above n. 88). To Wulff this capital represents a transitional stage between the normal animal capital of the Early Christian period (cf. above pp. 17–19 and Appendix) and his "12th century" bird capitals of the "cubic" type. It still retains the animal heads at the four corners, while the sides are decorated with addorsed birds. The date according to him would be late 9th century. But if there ever was such a transition it must have taken place around 500 A.D., for at that time we find animal heads at the corners combined with birds (though not addorsed birds) on the sides in a capital in Stobi (P. Clemen, *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II, 1919, p. 159; *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*, 24, 1929, fig. 33; our fig. 105). Even if the capital in S. Marco is mid-Byzantine it yet seems to go back to an early Byzantine model.

the spandrels.⁹² Foliated scrolls belong to the stock-in-trade of late antique decorative art and cannot be easily attributed to any particular region. All we can say is that this motif is not oriental and that by itself it would give us no reason to call our tapestry anything but Coptic, since it occurs on many other tapestries so called.

Yet it seems likely that in our case the Coptic character is the result of an adaptation of an originally different foliate ornament. One of the silk stuffs from Antinoë in which we recognize the forerunners of our tapestry has as a support for the animal protomes two symmetrical half palmettes issuing from a central stem,⁹³ an arrangement so similar to that on our textile that it cannot be disregarded, especially as Coptic scrolls, both in textiles and in sculptures, are usually composed as running spirals without a central stem. Herzfeld and Pfister have discussed the history of these half palmettes.⁹⁴ Without going into this subject here it is safe to say that our foliate motif originated in the paired half palmettes of the silks. We therefore have here a case of double parentage and we may recall that the same seemed to be true for the semicircular cups and for the animal protomes. In every case there is a prototype among the Sassanian or Pseudo-Sassanian patterns of the silks and at the same time a more or less perfect parallel in current Byzantine art, and the remarkable thing is that unless and until the existence of a silk prototype is pointed out the Byzantine parallels seem to provide a fully adequate explanation for every one of these motifs.

We may ask whether the scroll type to which the half palmettes have been adapted is characteristic of any particular phase in the development of the Byzantine and Coptic acanthus scroll. This question can only be discussed with the help of parallels in sculpture since the development of ornament in textiles has not yet been adequately studied. So far as Coptic sculpture is concerned I have shown in an earlier article how in the fifth and sixth century friezes from Ahnas, Bawit and Saqqara the classical type of acanthus with leaves only on one side of the stem is abandoned in favor of the so-called "Wedelranke."⁹⁵ Our scroll seems more akin to an earlier stage of Coptic acanthus ornament, a stage exemplified by the friezes from Oxyrhynchus.⁹⁶ But it would be a mistake to assume that all Coptic scroll or-

⁹² E.g. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pls. 52, 57, 66.

⁹³ Lyons no. 363. Cf. *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30 pl. V c = our fig. 7. Other variations of the theme *ibid.* pl. II (no. 266a) and fig. 6.

⁹⁴ *Die Malereien von Samarra*, p. 25. — *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30 p. 11. Cf. also the Justinus Diptych of 540 A.D., which shows that this was not — or did not remain — an exclusively Sassanian motif (R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (1929), N34).

⁹⁵ E. Kitzinger, in *Archaeologia*, 87, 1937, p. 196.

⁹⁶ E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie 1931-32* (1933), nos. 92, 100.

nament after the period of the Oxyrhynchus sculptures consisted of "Wedelranken." A frieze from the south door of the Red Monastery near Sohāg ⁹⁷ — though not yet satisfactorily dated ⁹⁸ — belongs to a period at least as advanced as the Ahnas sculptures; this shows a scroll of the same type as that on our textile. The same is true of the friezes at Kalat Seman ⁹⁹ and other Syrian buildings. And perhaps the closest parallel to the shape of the leaves on our tapestry is provided by a painted scroll at Bawit of certainly advanced date (fig. 28).¹⁰⁰ It is regrettable that the scroll cannot be related more definitely to any particular group of monuments as otherwise we might be able to gain a valuable clue for dating the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry.

The decoration of our panel is further enriched by numerous floral motifs incorporated in, or interspersed between, the basic units. Most of these are based on a very well known motif, the heart-shaped flower shaded in three horizontal zones from dark red to white. In its simplest form this ornament occurs only in the border of our tapestry and we may anticipate the discussion of this element of the border decoration here since it is of the same kind as the "filling ornaments" in the field (figs. 30, 40). A variation of the heart motif is inserted in the angle between the backs of each pair of horses. The heart in this case has three lobes instead of two and it is framed below by two green lines probably intended as leaves (fig. 21). Again there are heart-shaped flowers between the horses' heads and also between the semicircular cups; these blossoms grow from a green stem and they are flanked by two green leaves while another small green leaf is visible on top. The same flower, enriched by two detached white petals on either side, is found in the field above every pair of animals. The only filling motif which is not derived from the heart-shaped blossoms is a funnel-shaped flower in white and green, which is inserted in the angles between the backs of the lions (fig. 12).

The heart motif may have been taken over from the Antinoë silks. Among the pieces with animal protomes one (Musée Guimet no. 1148) has an at least related motif in the angles between the backs of two adorsed cocks (fig. 9). On another (V. & A. no. 828) a heart in two shades is used as a space filler between every two units (fig. 8); if we extend our inquiry to other silk stuffs from Antinoë we find the ornament in the same

⁹⁷ G. Duthuit, *La Sculpture Copte* (1931), pl. 51.

⁹⁸ E. Kitzinger loc. cit. p. 191 f., n. 4.

⁹⁹ D. Krencker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kalat Seman* (1939), pl. 30 (Reprint from *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1938, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, No. 4).

¹⁰⁰ J. Clédat, loc. cit. pl. 33.

function.¹⁰¹ In some cases¹⁰² there are hearts with two lateral leaves such as we find between the backs of the horses on our tapestry.

The heart motif itself would be difficult to localize. Rows of hearts occur frequently both in Persia and Egypt, as well as in Rome, during the late antique period.¹⁰³ Equally widespread is a floral motif consisting of four such heart-shaped petals combined into a quatrefoil. These flowers occur so frequently on Coptic textiles of purely Hellenistic tradition that they must have been adopted by Egyptian weavers at an early period.¹⁰⁴ But we have even earlier examples outside Egypt, in the finds from Dura,¹⁰⁵ and in any case this four-petalled flower becomes so frequent in Syrian and Palestinian mosaics also,¹⁰⁶ as well as in indubitably Sassanian textiles¹⁰⁷ that it cannot be claimed to be typical of any particular region. On the other hand, the single heart interpreted as a flower through the addition of two lateral leaves is claimed by Toll to be particularly widespread in Egyptian tapestry weaving.¹⁰⁸ Although the woollen tapestry found in Lou Lan which he quotes as the earliest example need not necessarily come from the Nile, the motif does occur on an Egyptian textile of purely classical character and undoubtedly early date.¹⁰⁹ This piece of evidence is more valuable than that of most of the tapestries in Toll's list,¹¹⁰ nearly all of which might have been under some foreign influence. But we also have to add a whole list of such flowers from the Antioch mosaics¹¹¹ which, though probably all later than the Egyptian textile, bear witness to the popularity of the motif in Syria. It seems, however, that this version of the heart motif belongs to the Mediterranean coast rather than to the Orient. Toll can quote only one example from Sassanian art,¹¹² and it is perhaps not very likely that this par-

¹⁰¹ A. F. Kendrick, loc. cit. III pl. 31 no. 830; Falke, loc. cit., fig. 44.

¹⁰² Falke, loc. cit. fig. 45. *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30 pl. IV.

¹⁰³ N. Toll, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, III, 1929, p. 184.

¹⁰⁴ E.g., Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pls. 7, 44, 45, 50.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," in *Yale Classical Studies*, V, 1935, figs. 32, 72, 73.

These examples from Dura are used by Pfister to prove a Syrian derivation of this motif on Egyptian textiles (*Etudes Linossier*, p. 449).

¹⁰⁶ Antioch, III pls. 50, 75; *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, III, 1934, pl. 17; A. M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* (1937), pl. 25.

¹⁰⁷ Falke, loc. cit. figs. 95, 98.

¹⁰⁸ N. Toll, loc. cit. p. 186.

¹⁰⁹ Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 1. Our fig. 29.

¹¹⁰ Toll, loc. cit. p. 186.

¹¹¹ Antioch, II p. 24 fig. 24, pl. 41 no. 55; III pl. 47 nos. 103/4, pl. 75 nos. 154/5. Also the unpublished mosaic in the church of Machouka.

¹¹² No. 11 of his list (loc. cit. p. 186); unfortunately not recognizable on any of the published photographs.

ticular variety formed part of the repertoire of the Sassanian weavers who, as we saw, invented the basic pattern of our group of silks from Antinoë. The heart shape itself is Persian as much as it is Mediterranean. But the floral form may be one of those elements which we found were added to the Sassanian designs by silk weavers in the Mediterranean countries.¹¹³

Thus the heart-shaped flower may not be a purely Sassanian motif even in the form in which it occurs on the Antinoë silks.¹¹⁴ So far as the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry is concerned we must say that the flowers we find here belong to those elements in the complex pattern of this piece which in themselves would not have suggested anything but a Coptic origin. The hearts with their division into a white, a pink, and a red zone are identical with those on Coptic textiles¹¹⁵ whereas the hearts on the Antinoë silks show a different color scheme.¹¹⁶ One would never have looked for parallels elsewhere were it not for the admittedly Sassanian roots of the pattern as a whole. But there is more to be said. If the design on our textile seems so much more restless, gay and fanciful than those on the silk prototypes, it is to a large extent due to these floral filling motifs which the weaver inserted wherever he found a vacant space. Especially the large blossoms between the horses' backs which almost dwarf the animals and which are by far the most conspicuous element coloristically in the unit, if not in the whole pattern, indicate that we are here far removed from the artistic spirit which created the design on the silks, a design of much more austere character with a clear emphasis on the main motif. If the heart blossom itself is not necessarily Coptic, its profuse employment in our design certainly suggests the influence of Coptic textile art, which is notoriously fond of bright and lavish color accents.

We have said before that the Dumbarton Oaks hanging has by far the richest color scheme of any of the textiles with animal protomes, either in wool or in silk. We may now say more specifically that by adding to the pale brown colors of the animals the glowing red of the flowers, the fresh green of the scrolls and birds and the white of the semicircular cups an effect of strong contrasts is produced, much more akin to that of ordinary Coptic work¹¹⁷ than to that of the Antinoë silks with their predominantly brown, pale green and blue tones.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ For further enrichment of this motif in the so-called "Alexandrian" silks cf. Toll loc. cit. p. 187 ff.

¹¹⁴ See above p. 31 n. 102.

¹¹⁵ Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 7. R. Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 2.

¹¹⁶ Cf. color plate 2 (c,d) in J. Lessing, *Die Gewebesammlung des Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums*, 1900-1909 (for the numbering of Lessing's plates see Falke loc. cit. p. XI).

¹¹⁷ For Coptic textiles with similar effects cf. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 7; Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 5 bottom right, pl. 7 top.

¹¹⁸ I have not seen color-reproductions of the silks in London (no. 828) and Lyons (no.

The elements which we found were added to the originally Sassanian design of our tapestry: the fuller and more plastic rendering of the animal busts, the "bird cups," the scrolls, and the heart-shaped flowers all belong to the Mediterranean sphere, at least in the form in which they appear on this textile. Though none of them could be claimed to be specifically Egyptian to the exclusion of other regions of the Byzantine world, they were all found to be in the ordinary line of Coptic ornamental design and so is the color scheme of the whole field. We may conclude that, while the Antinoë silks may be either Sassanian originals or Pseudo-Sassanian work made in the Mediterranean area, our tapestry represents a Mediterranean version of the Sassanian theme. Whether it can be assigned to Egypt particularly, perhaps the analysis of the border will show. Meanwhile let it be remembered that all the textiles associated with it, both wool and silk weavings, were found in Egypt, and indeed in one and the same locality.

We cannot conclude the discussion of the field design of the Dumbarton Oaks hanging without remarking on the masterly fashion in which the Sassanian and the Mediterranean elements have been amalgamated. This is not the work of an eclectic artist who chooses motifs from different sources only to let them stand side by side. We found that all the new elements are developed from shapes already contained in the silk patterns. They are not additions so much as re-interpretations, adaptations to a different taste, translations into a different language. To some extent the tapestry technique favored such re-interpretation.¹¹⁹ But we need only think of the Lyons fragments in order to realize that it did not automatically produce it. There is an original artistic achievement here. It must have required a more or less conscious effort of an individual mind and imagination to find for every one of the semi-abstract elements of the silk patterns a perfect equivalent among late antique ornaments, and to fit these ornaments into the original composition in such a way that there is no disturbance but only enrichment and greater liveliness.

This is an essentially personal creation. The same tendency underlies all the changes to which the various features of the silk design have been

363). The two tapestries in Lyons rank with our textile rather than with the silks (witness the emphasis on red and green), but are not nearly as varied.

¹¹⁹ I may quote here from a letter from Miss Bellinger: "The weavers using wool wefts usually took more liberty with a well-known pattern and were apt to render it more realistically than those using linen or silk. In the case of the polychrome silks the wefts were carried from selvage to selvage, consequently the repeats were identical row for row. Therefore if a silk pattern were copied in tapestry where the wefts reverse at the edge of a given color area, the copy could hardly be so exact as the original and the weavers — and designers as well — are apt to take more leeway in design and execution of any well-known pattern."

subjected. The three-dimensional character of the units, the introduction of organic shapes and movements in the protomes, as well as in the cups and the foliage, the greater contrasts in color — all these factors combine to produce a dramatic quality, a vitality and an almost realistic directness which we do not find in the silks or, for that matter, in any of the other tapestries.

But the unit as a whole remains unaffected. It is essentially still the same as in our earliest silk fragment (no. 1108 of the Musée Guimet). And if the structure of the individual unit is retained, so is that of the field as a whole. The rows remain as rigid and tight as ever, and not the least attractive feature of the piece is the contrast between the geometric character of the design as a whole and the voluminosity of the individual unit, between the schematic monotony of the whole pattern and the liveliness and richness of detail.

To find among late antique textiles, which so often are merely mechanical copies, such a case of free and original interpretation of a given model is doubly refreshing. Here is the work of an artist who used his own imagination to enrich and popularize a foreign prototype by consistently translating all its elements into a language at once more varied and more familiar, while at the same time the conventional ornaments of his own repertoire acquire a new life and a new meaning from their exotic setting.

The textiles which have come down to us from late antiquity often make us wonder whether, in their grotesque and fantastic character, they are more akin to the stammering of a child or to the vision of a surrealist. In this case there can be no doubt that an artist's imagination has penetrated and recreated every detail of a traditional pattern. And thus our textile gains significance in an even wider sense. For rare indeed are the instances in the art of the Dark Ages where the process of an artistic creation lies so openly before us.

III. THE BORDER

If the design in the field of the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry presents itself as a mixture of Sassanian elements and others commonly found in Coptic textiles, the border at first sight seems to be Coptic pure and simple. Horsemen roundels are legion in Coptic textiles. The figures are typically Coptic. Animals occur in vast numbers in every kind of decorative design in the Nile Valley. The gay contrasts of many bright colors are typical of Coptic textile art.

Yet it is not possible to name a Coptic prototype for the whole composi-

tion, a model in the sense in which the Antinoë silks were a model for the field design, and we therefore have to analyze its elements one by one.

Taking first the horsemen roundels, we are at once reminded of similar representations on the so-called "Alexandrian" silks.¹²⁰ It would not be surprising to find that this part of the composition as well was inspired by prototypes in silk. But on these silk stuffs the mounted huntsmen are always portrayed with their victims. It might be argued that the same is true for our textile, the only difference being that the weaver has chosen to depict the animals outside the circles. But the silks illustrate an actual fight between man and beast or rather a triumph of the former over the latter. Although our horsemen hold either a spear or a missile in their hands their attitudes are much more sedate than those of the figures on the silks. Moreover these roundels lack one of the main characteristics of the silks, namely, the floral ornament on the frame, which, as has been mentioned above, is developed from the heart motif. We have copies in wool of the "Alexandrian" silk roundels; these are often enriched by all kinds of filling motifs and the rider in many cases is depicted with a halo which characterizes him as the so-called Cavalier Saint. All these roundels are very degenerate in style and have no resemblance to ours.¹²¹

We find more satisfactory parallels when we turn to another group of Coptic textiles in which horsemen roundels (or squares) are very frequent, namely, the "purple" tapestries. Often the horseman is alone, sometimes an animal is added. But the main point is that most of these riders are portrayed in an attitude which corresponds precisely to that of one of our two types, with one arm raised and very often holding a missile. Sometimes the horses wear trappings as ours do, and the huntsman is clothed in the fluttering chlamys worn by our figures (fig. 33).¹²² Obviously this is the group from which at least one of our two types is derived. What is curious is the persistence with which the type occurs in this very common class of Coptic textiles¹²³ when the other type with a spear held horizontally in the lowered hand is extremely rare among the purple textiles. However, it is not entirely lacking¹²⁴ (fig. 34) and it also occurs in another class

¹²⁰ H. Peirce & R. Tyler, loc. cit. II pl. 184 b — now at Dumbarton Oaks; Kendrick loc. cit. III nos. 822, 823, pl. 27.

¹²¹ *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn Museum Exhibition), 1941, no. 252 (pl.); Kendrick loc. cit. III pl. 13 no. 669; Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 47 top left; I. Errera, *Collection d'Antiques Etoffes Egyptiennes* (Brussels) (1916), nos. 243/4; A. Apostolaki, *Ta Koptika Hypasmata tou en Athenais Mouseiou Kosmetikōn Technōn* (1932), p. 154 fig. 121.

¹²² Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pls. 53, 55, 56, 72; Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 6; Apostolaki loc. cit. figs. 54, 81, 88; Kendrick loc. cit. I nos. 68, 72.

¹²³ The number of examples could be greatly increased if the unpublished pieces in American collections, of which photographs exist in the Dumbarton Oaks Census, were taken into account.

¹²⁴ Kendrick loc. cit. I no. 71.

of early Coptic stuffs, again of the monochrome kind. I refer to the textiles with hunting scenes in horizontal rows.¹²⁵

As against this positive evidence from Egypt we have a completely negative one from Persia, though hunting scenes are the most common of all Sassanian subjects. Our two types do not occur either on Sassanian reliefs, or silver vessels, or textiles. Most Persian huntsmen are equipped with bow and arrow. Sometimes they attack their victims with a spear or a sword; they never attack with a missile. Our types are rare outside the Coptic sphere.¹²⁶

But though our medallions seem to follow a stereotyped pattern widely used in Coptic monochrome weavings we still have to account for the change to a polychrome style. There exist a few other polychrome horsemen roundels which are not of the "Alexandrian" class, notably a silk panel in London¹²⁷ with an exact replica in Boston¹²⁸ and a tapestry in the Louvre.¹²⁹ Although none of these repeat our types exactly they are much nearer to them than those of the "Alexandrian" group. In fact, the suggestion might be made, on the basis of the pieces in London and Boston, that the immediate models of our medallions were polychrome silks. But since we have here the rare case of silks woven in tapestry technique the more plausible explanation is that the silk panels in their turn are modelled after wool patterns from which they derive the figure types as well as the technique.¹³⁰

The very distinctive style of our figures with their pronounced black outlines strongly emphasizing the faces and especially the quite disproportionately large eyes suggests comparison with a class of Coptic polychrome textiles which I would describe as the "polychrome, small-figured, mythological group." "Polychrome" as distinct from the monochrome textiles which, though often decorated with very similar figure-work and sometimes enriched by colors in some of their details, are never executed on an all-color basis. "Small-figured" as distinct from those large monumental figure designs in lavish colors which in their impressionist manner are usually very close to late antique painting and are often, though not necessarily,

¹²⁵ Falke loc. cit. fig. 31; Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 36.

¹²⁶ A Thracian relief — admittedly an exception within its class — shows a horseman holding a spear in his lowered hand. Cf. G. I. Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des Thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, 2nd Series, XIV), fig. 235 and p. 10. The same figure on a mosaic in Bet Djibrin: cf. *Revue Biblique* 31 (1922), p. 267 fig. 1 = Schneider, loc. cit. fig. 12.

¹²⁷ Kendrick loc. cit. I no. 62. Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. II fig. 44 b.

¹²⁸ Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 201 (pl.).

¹²⁹ Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 47 top right.

¹³⁰ I owe this point to Miss Bellinger.

executed in looped technique.¹³¹ Finally "mythological" as distinct from another group of small-figured, polychrome textiles which are much more degenerate in style and usually show Christian subject matters.¹³² Our group, which roughly corresponds to "Class IV" in Wulff's and Volbach's Catalogue,¹³³ has an outstanding representative in the so-called "Chale de Sabine" from Antinoë, now at the Musée Guimet in Paris.¹³⁴ Other pieces are illustrated in an article by Pfister¹³⁵ and in his publication of the Louvre textiles.¹³⁶

With this group our roundels share the scale, the polychromy, the lack of shading and modelling, the black outlines and — as opposed to the "caricature" style of the Joseph textiles and their class — fairly natural proportions and movements, though the degree of degeneracy varies greatly from piece to piece. Many of them have the square eyes with a white [shaped inset, and expressively raised, horizontal brows which are characteristic of the otherwise more advanced textiles of the Joseph group. In this respect our horsemen are closest to the figures on the Chale de Sabine itself. The "Apollo" in the "Apollo and Daphne" panel, for instance, has eyes designed as an open triangle with a large black spot indicating the pupil and a slanting line parallel with the upper lid to represent the eyebrow, exactly as our riders have them. The shape of the head of "Apollo" is also comparable to those faces on our textile which are shown in a three-quarters view. We find the same narrow forehead and the same semicircular outline in the lower half, which leaves no room for a chin and hardly any for a mouth. It must, however, be admitted that the figures of the Chale are more elegantly designed and more harmoniously proportioned (figs. 30, 31).

There is one other outstanding piece with small-scale polychrome figures of fairly naturalistic design, namely the "jambière" in Lyons representing a Persian king and a battle scene.¹³⁷ This piece has an even closer stylistic resemblance to ours than those with mythological subjects. We find the same figure types, in this case also with the over-sized heads, mostly

¹³¹ E.g. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pls. 1, 4, 5; Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 10; Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. I pl. 141; Apostolaki loc. cit. pl. I; Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 236.

¹³² E.g. the group of tapestries with the Joseph story. Cf. Apostolaki loc. cit. fig. 114; E. Kitzinger, in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937/38 p. 266 ff.

¹³³ Cf. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pp. XI, 66 ff. Note, however, that their class includes many pieces of purely ornamental design, as well as figured pieces which are really "purple" textiles with a few colored patches.

¹³⁴ Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. I figs. 156/7.

¹³⁵ *R.d.A.A.*, 1928 p. 215 ff.

¹³⁶ Pfister, *Louvre*, pls. 16-19. See also Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 222.

¹³⁷ N. Toll, in *Recueil d'Etudes dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (1926), p. 93 ff.; Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. II, figs. 55, 56; see also Toll, loc. cit. p. 94 fig. 1 for a corresponding piece in the Musée Guimet in Paris.

represented in profile as some of ours are, and very similar both as regards contours of faces and shape of eyes. A further peculiarity which some of our horsemen share with figures on this textile are the colored spots on the garments (fig. 32).

Pfister originally claimed the "jambière" as Sassanian work, but Toll has convincingly shown that only the iconography is Sassanian, while the rendering of the figures is typically Coptic.¹³⁸ Pfister has later on subscribed to this view, chiefly because of the technical reason that the threads are twisted to the left.¹³⁹

As to the Chale de Sabine and its relatives their local Egyptian origin has never been doubted. We need only remember the close similarity of the "Apollo and Daphne" scene with Ahnas reliefs (figs. 31, 36).¹⁴⁰ Our small-scale, polychrome figure style is Coptic. And more than that: all the pieces in this group, in so far as their provenance is known, come from Antinoë. This applies to most of the pieces illustrated in Pfister's article on the Chale de Sabine; it applies to five out of the eight members of our group in the Louvre publication¹⁴¹ and it also applies to the battle scene in Lyons. We are tempted to call it a local "Antinoë Style."

Summing up what we have so far found out about our medallions we may say that the two types of huntsmen are characteristic of certain groups of monochrome textiles of undisputed Egyptian origin, while the polychrome rendering and the figure style are accounted for by another group of textiles which is also undeniably Coptic. If the discussion of the field design still left us in doubt as to whether the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry was woven in Egypt or in some other region of the Eastern Mediterranean we may now confidently claim it as Coptic work. However many exotic elements went into its making, the place of manufacture was certainly Egypt. The horsemen leave no doubt in this respect. It is remarkable that the analysis of the border roundels should again have brought us into contact with a group of textiles from Antinoë, a result which is all the more unexpected as the group concerned is not related with the one which we found to have influenced the field design. No rash conclusions should be drawn from this, as future excavations may show that both the silks and the small-scale mythological tapestries had a wider distribution. But it would not be surprising to learn that our hanging also came from Antinoë, and it is certainly worth noting that features of two entirely different groups of textiles are here united in one and the same piece.

¹³⁸ Toll loc. cit. p. 100.

¹³⁹ *R.d.A.A.*, 1934, p. 83. See above p. 12.

¹⁴⁰ U. Monneret de Villard, *La Scultura ad Ahnas* (1923), figs. 38, 39, 41.

¹⁴¹ See Pfister, *Louvre*, Preface.

The chronological implications of this fact will be mentioned in our last chapter. Nor can we try at this point to explain the curious dualism in the derivation of our horsemen, the types of which are most closely paralleled in monochrome textiles while in style they are unmistakably aligned with the polychrome group. This raises problems which can only be discussed in connection with the date of the Dumbarton Oaks textile.

Meanwhile, however, there is still one feature of our roundels which calls for comment, namely the frames. Beaded circular frames are usually called Sassanian and they are characteristic of those textiles which are universally accepted as Sassanian because of their similarity with the patterned garments worn by the figures on the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs.¹⁴² But they also occur in the "purple" textiles which we found to be the source of at least one of our horsemen types and which are purely Egyptian work.¹⁴³ Furthermore, there is an example in an obviously early polychrome stuff of entirely classical tradition.¹⁴⁴ If we take into account fields other than textile art the beaded border can certainly not be claimed as exclusively Sassanian.¹⁴⁵ What is not so easy to match in the Mediterranean sphere are the double rows of beads on the frames of some of our medallions (fig. 30). These call to mind certain Sassanian stuccoes,¹⁴⁶ which also show the rows of beads interrupted at regular intervals by larger jewels. According to Sarre we have to recognize in these double rows of beads representations of Persian crowns. The single row of large beads is also very frequent in Sassanian stucco reliefs,¹⁴⁷ and it does seem therefore that this is the class of monuments where we find our two types of frames best represented side by side.

The situation in this case is similar to that with which we were confronted several times when discussing elements of the design in the field. We have reason to claim a Sassanian parentage, and yet in some way the motif is rooted in Egyptian traditions. At any rate this is the first element of the composition on the border which cannot be matched quite satisfactorily in Coptic textiles and which suggests a Sassanian component in the design.

Inserted between the medallions are imposing portraits of lions and panthers. These animals are frequently associated with huntsmen on "pur-

¹⁴² E.g. Falke loc. cit. figs. 96, 99; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (1920), pp. 130 ff., pls. 53 ff.

¹⁴³ Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 53 no. 9229.

¹⁴⁴ *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin II*, part I A, 1923, pl. 19.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. R. Zahn, in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 38, 1917 fig. 96 and cols. 274 ff.

¹⁴⁶ F. Sarre, in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 29 (1908), p. 69 = *Persian Art, Souvenir of the Exhibition at Burlington House* (1931), pl. V right = our fig. 38.

¹⁴⁷ *Persian Survey*, IV pls. 174, 177.

ple" textiles.¹⁴⁸ But whereas the horsemen in this group of textiles agreed exactly at least with one of our two types in attitude and movement the same cannot be said for the animals. The lions and panthers on our tapestry with their determined pace, their turned heads and open mouths, are of a very distinctive character, and it is difficult to match these features in any class of Coptic textiles, monochrome or polychrome. For the panthers we may compare a wool panel in Berlin representing perhaps Alexander's Journey to Heaven¹⁴⁹ and a hanging in the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia.¹⁵⁰ In both these cases Sassanian influence has been suggested, and this suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the same animal occurs on certain silk stuffs from Antinoë, although these do not belong to the immediate group of those silks whose Sassanian origin we believe to have proved.¹⁵¹ Lions not dissimilar to ours in their attitude are to be seen on another silk from Antinoë.¹⁵² But we need not confine ourselves to guesswork, for the lions on our tapestry contain a tell-tale feature which seems to establish their Sassanian origin beyond doubt. I refer to the small colored spots on their ankles, a curious feature which they share with the "hippocamp" on the garment of Khusrau II at Taq-i-Bustan¹⁵³ as well as with the "hippocamp" on a silk fragment in London, the least controversial of all Sassanian textiles, thanks to its close association with the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs.¹⁵⁴ The rams on two silks from Antinoë also closely connected with the Taq-i-Bustan have two such spots on each leg,¹⁵⁵ while the winged horses on another fragment of this class have ribbons around the ankles.¹⁵⁶ If subsequently these ankle spots also occur on silk roundels obviously made in Egypt¹⁵⁷ this does not militate against their Sassanian origin.

Thus we feel entitled to claim an at least partly Sassanian parentage for the animals on the border, and it is tempting to assume that here again, as in the case of the field design, Antinoë silks acted as intermediaries, a hypothesis which in its turn reinforces the attribution also of the above-mentioned panther and lion silks — or at least their models — to Sassanian Persia.

¹⁴⁸ E.g. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 54 no. 9660, pl. 56 several, pl. 66 no. 9144, pl. 71 no. 6233; Apostolaki loc. cit. fig. 41.

¹⁴⁹ Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 16 no. 4644.

¹⁵⁰ Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 241 (pl). Our fig. 48.

¹⁵¹ Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. II pl. 52 b, c; Kendrick loc. cit. III no. 829 = our fig. 42; Lessing loc. cit. pl. 2 a. Note that all these panthers wear neckbands, as ours do, though not with the flying ribbons which are specifically Sassanian (cf. *Persian Survey*, I, p. 881).

¹⁵² Falke loc. cit. fig. 40 = Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. II, pl. 51 = our fig. 43.

¹⁵³ Falke loc. cit. fig. 91 = our fig. 39.

¹⁵⁴ Falke loc. cit. fig. 96.

¹⁵⁵ N. Toll, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (1932), pl. 25 = Falke loc. cit. fig. 50.

¹⁵⁶ Falke loc. cit. fig. 49.

¹⁵⁷ Falke loc. cit. fig. 80.

Once Sassanian "blood" is recognized in our animals it is much easier to understand their wild and vigorous character. The lions are real animals of prey, as opposed to the rather mild creatures on the "purple" textiles or even those on the mosaics of Antioch¹⁵⁸ which one might otherwise feel tempted to compare. They are much more akin in spirit to the animals which we find represented in hunting scenes on Sassanian silver plates, where we also meet with the prominently displayed tongues which add so much to the expressiveness of the lions' faces.¹⁵⁹ The animals on these silver plates are also marked with ankle spots (fig. 37).

And yet there are also animals — though not on tapestries — which one would never call anything but Coptic and which are comparable in general type to our lions and panthers. The panthers call to mind an animal inside a foliated scroll on one of the limestone friezes from Ahnas¹⁶⁰ and the lions can be closely matched — except for the ankle spots — on a well known fresco at Bawit.¹⁶¹ In fact no doubt might have arisen as to the purely local origin of the type had it not been for one small detail.

Once again we feel we have before us the work of an artist who was extremely skillful in blending foreign and local elements, and the local element is undoubtedly that of Coptic Egypt. Once again we find that this artist adopted motifs from Sassanian Persia which were easily grafted on types originating in the local late antique tradition, and this makes it very difficult to disentangle the two components with any precision, unless we happen to know the design which guided him, as we do in the case of the pattern in the field.

We found only the horsemen to be purely Coptic both in type and in style. They are the only element in the whole piece which does not appear to be even an adaptation of a Sassanian model. But having realized how easily one is deceived by the superficial flavor of humdrum "Copticism" which pervades all parts of the composition, we may wonder whether they, too, could not be adaptations of an originally Sassanian prototype. Their frames, as we saw, seem to have a Sassanian root. In the make-up of the figures themselves there is one element which arouses suspicion, namely the spotted garments which some of the riders wear. We saw that such garments are also worn by some of the soldiers on the "jambière" in Lyons, admittedly a copy of a Sassanian original depicting a Persian scene (fig. 32). There are very few other examples of this motif in Coptic tapestries. I can

¹⁵⁸ *Antioch*, II pl. 47; III pl. 76. Our fig. 44.

¹⁵⁹ *Persian Survey*, IV pls. 204, 205, 208 B.

¹⁶⁰ U. Monneret de Villard, loc. cit. fig. 86.

¹⁶¹ J. Clédat, loc. cit. pl. 37 = our fig. 41.

quote only a rug in Boston (figs. 49, 50), of which more later, and a rather degenerate piece in Berlin.¹⁶² Neither of these pieces is in the ordinary line of coptic weaving. Without being able to point to a definite Persian source we may at least say that this one feature of our horsemen admits of a foreign derivation.

Horsemen and animals, however complex in their origin, should have at least one model in common. For there can hardly be any doubt that an inner connection exists between them, and that the border as a whole is a schematic rendering of a hunting scene. In view of the various Sassanian elements we found it would be plausible to suggest that the underlying theme is a royal hunt, the favorite subject of Persian court art.¹⁶³ We suggested before that the choice of lions and horses as principal motifs in the field design may be determined by an oriental symbolism pertaining to kings and rulers,¹⁶⁴ and the same might be true for the border.¹⁶⁵ Although the designer of the tapestry was hardly aware of anything but the decorative value of his motifs, the possibility exists that the ancestors of our tapestry were works of Persian court art which displayed symbols and emblems of royal power and majesty.

But if a Sassanian model is the basis also of the composition on the border we must admit that this basis has been covered up much more successfully than that of the field design. Particularly in the horsemen there is nothing to remind us of Persian kings and their entourage except perhaps those spotted garments. We must assume that in this case not only details but also the entire composition was altered; for the alternation of framed and unframed figures is not characteristic of Sassanian art. Although there are many Persian textiles entirely covered with medallions, they never show any free-style figures between the medallions. One might expect to find the animals inside the frames and the figures outside, since animals in medallions occur so frequently in Sassanian art. Coptic weavers, on the other hand, are very fond of mixing framed and unframed figures within one field or border. A great number of "purple" textiles show this device¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 104 nos. 6936/7.

¹⁶³ Could the fact that the "panthers," but not the lions, wear neckbands be taken to mean that the former are cheetas, a tamed variety of the panther species which was used in the East in hunting down wild animals? (Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* — suggestion from Mr. E. H. Bland.) The subject in this case would be a lion hunt.

¹⁶⁴ See above p. 20 n. 64.

¹⁶⁵ See also above, p. 39, for Sarre's interpretation of the beaded frames (cf. *Persian Survey*, I, p. 879).

¹⁶⁶ E.g. Wulff-Volbach loc. cit. pl. 53 no. 9229, pl. 55 no. 11429; Errera, loc. cit. no. 319 = our fig. 35.

and it is also familiar on the small-figured polychrome textiles which we quoted in connection with our medallions.¹⁶⁷ Since this arrangement destroys the context between the figures, wherever there is one, it is obvious that the weavers attached greater importance to the decorative effect of rhythmic change than to the story value of their scene.

The composition would have to be regarded as Coptic even if the scene thus split up were a Sassanian hunt. But hunting scenes are equally popular in the classical world. Since the division into framed and free-style figures, the horsemen types, and to some extent the animals are familiar in Coptic art, perhaps the whole design of the border finds a more natural explanation if we assume that its basis is a Hellenistic hunting scene such as we find in Antioch mosaics¹⁶⁸ and in Coptic "purple" textiles, with some Sassanian touches added to the frames, to the horsemen's garments, and particularly to the animals. The process would be exactly the opposite of the one which we found accounts for the design in the main field, inasmuch as Sassanian silks would in this case have exerted only a secondary influence.

IV. THE TEXTILE AS A WHOLE

Perhaps the most surprising thing about the Dumbarton Oaks hanging is the juxtaposition of an all-over design familiar from the silk stuffs with a border so different in character. The correct interpretation of the border depends somewhat on whether the Sassanian models from which the design in the field is derived may also have included such broad and richly decorated frames, or whether the very existence of the border is due to an innovation on the part of the Coptic artist.

The Antinoë silks have been preserved only in small fragments; they were cut into bands which served as decorations of costumes.¹⁶⁹ In no case is there evidence of anything but a modest border ornament such as we find also on the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry in addition to the broad frame.¹⁷⁰ The original size and function of the silks from Antinoë remains obscure.

On the other hand our piece is not the only large size tapestry which combines a repeat or all-over pattern with a broad and elaborately ornamented frame. There are several textiles of this type, all in American collections:

¹⁶⁷ Pfister, *Louvre*, pl. 17.

¹⁶⁸ *Antioch*, II pls. 66, 71 ff.

¹⁶⁹ R. Pfister, in *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30 p. 21 f.

¹⁷⁰ E.g., E. Guimet, *Les Portraits d'Antinoë*, pls. 7, 11.

Textile Museum of the District of Columbia	no. 71.33 ¹⁷¹ (fig. 45)
ibid.	no. 71.14 ¹⁷² (fig. 46)
ibid.	no. 71.51 ¹⁷³ (fig. 48)
Boston Museum of Fine Arts	no. 28.18 (figs. 49, 50)
Kansas City Museum	no. 35-2 ¹⁷⁴ (fig. 47)

No two textiles in this group are alike. But they are all large, oblong hangings; uniformly they show all-over or repeat patterns with broad frames, and judging by the more fully preserved specimens, they were surrounded by these frames on all four sides.¹⁷⁵ Technically they are all related in having woollen warp threads spun to the left and mostly colored,¹⁷⁶ a peculiarity shared by our tapestry, while in the wefts linen is sometimes used in addition to wool.

The variety of motifs displayed in these hangings is extraordinarily great, yet most of them are related to each other in some way. Two of the pieces in the District of Columbia Textile Museum (71.14 and 71.33) have frames decorated with heads and heart-shaped flowers. The heads occur again in the Kansas City textile, which also has the heart-shapes in the quatrefoils of the border. This motif occurs again in no. 71.51 of the District of Columbia Museum, a piece which we have already had occasion to compare with ours, because of the panthers in the central roundels. The rug closest to ours in its composition is the hanging in Boston, whose field design also consists of complex units repeated without frames in staggered horizontal rows. We have already compared the spotted garments of the figures to those of our horsemen,¹⁷⁷ and we may now add that the similarity extends to the headgear and to the face types, particularly in the rendering of the eyes (figs. 40, 50).

¹⁷¹ The American Magazine of Art, 22, 1931, pl. facing p. 335.

¹⁷² Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 242 (pl.).

¹⁷³ Brooklyn Museum Exhibition no. 241 (pl.). In the upper part of the narrow white frame surrounding the inner field of this piece is inscribed the word ΦΙΛΟΠΟΚΙΑ (= "Love of wool"). One naturally wonders whether this could be a case, probably unique, of a weaver signing his product with a kind of trademark. Unfortunately the inscription is not woven but simply inscribed in black ink, so that one cannot be sure of its antiquity.

¹⁷⁴ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1934 p. 104. *Ars Islamica* IV, 1937 p. 181 fig. 10.

¹⁷⁵ In the case of the Dumbarton Oaks textile there might be some doubt in this respect. We mentioned before that a very small portion of the lower frame of the field design is preserved (see above p. 6). This consists of a yellow stripe followed by a black line and traces of white — the same sequence of colors which we also find at the right edge of the field. However, the yellow stripe has a width of only $\frac{3}{8}$ " as against the $\frac{1}{2}$ " of its counterpart on the right. In view of this difference in width it might be argued that the frame below was altogether different from that on the right.

¹⁷⁶ No. 71.33 in the Textile Museum D. C. has undyed warps. I am very much indebted to the Director of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, for supplying me with technical details of the textile in that collection; the colors of the warps seem to be golden tan and brown, according to Miss Bellinger perhaps not the result of dyeing.

¹⁷⁷ See above p. 42.

But the most important point is that all these textiles are related to Antinoë silks. In the case of the Boston rug the decisive feature is the "staggered" composition which we found so difficult to match anywhere else. The detached human heads occur in several silk stuffs from Antinoë, and in the Kansas City tapestry the heads are flanked by birds in the same way as in the silk in Lyons and Berlin (figs. 27, 47). We have already mentioned the parallels among the silks to the paired panthers in no. 71.51 of the District of Columbia Museum. For the lozenge pattern in no. 71.33 in the same Museum, we may compare fig. 46 in Falke's *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (1913).

It thus becomes apparent that our textile is only one out of a group of large hangings in which silk prototypes are freely used. None of these textiles has a definite provenance attached to it and they are not necessarily all of Egyptian make. To settle this question would require a systematic study of all the pieces and their respective parallels among the silk stuffs.

The same type of composition was also known elsewhere as we can see in a pavement from Antioch¹⁷⁸ which corresponds closely to no. 71.33 in the District of Columbia Museum. Morey has suggested that this mosaic reproduces a carpet and he compares the field design to one of the textile patterns from the Taq-i-Bustan.¹⁷⁹ The Phoenix mosaic, so closely connected with Persia on the one hand and with the Dumbarton Oaks hanging on the other, is composed on the same principle and also produces the effect of a carpet.¹⁸⁰

It may eventually be found that this type of composition is connected with Persia whenever it occurs. In the case of the Antioch mosaics there seems to be a direct connection with Sassanian art. In the rugs we have, in every instance, found connections with Antinoë silks. Exactly how much this means in terms of Sassanian influence depends on the interpretation of the silks concerned. But it is obvious that our silks with animal protomes are not the only ones that have been justly related, in a greater or lesser degree, to Sassanian art. If, however, rugs as well as mosaics are somehow connected with Persia we might be justified in concluding that the compositional scheme peculiar to both groups also goes back to a Persian source.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ *Antioch*, II pl. 47 = our fig. 44.

¹⁷⁹ C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (1938), p. 42.

¹⁸⁰ Morey, loc. cit. p. 43.

¹⁸¹ In support of a derivation of this type of composition from Persia we may quote two ensembles of stucco decoration said to come from Chahar Taquan near Rayy and now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In their present arrangement these show each a large central field with an all-over pattern surrounded on all four sides by a broad frame with beaded medallions. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that the present arrangement of these stucco slabs cor-

But it is also possible that the mosaics as well as the textiles are as a type peculiar to the Mediterranean countries, even if many or most of their motifs are derived from Sassanian Persia. In the Nereid textile at Dumbarton Oaks, which shares with our group the colored warp threads and which, incidentally, is said to come from Antinoë, we seem to behold a purely late-antique version of the large hanging with broad frame.¹⁸² With this piece of evidence before us we could argue that the type of rug is peculiar to the Mediterranean countries, and that the textiles, as well as the mosaics, with all-over patterns merely represent an orientalizing phase in its history. The attempt to decide whether the composition of our rug as a whole is Mediterranean or Persian ends with a *non liquet*.

We may add here a few words on the possible use of our tapestry. On the analogy of the two Antioch mosaics it might be suggested that our piece and its associates served as floor carpets. But it is doubtful whether any of them would be sufficiently solid for such use, and they may perhaps more plausibly be described as wall-hangings.¹⁸³ Identity of motifs does not imply identity of function. Let us remember that the Antinoë silks, which so often show the same patterns as our rugs, were, at least in their secondary use, ornaments of garments, and let us also remember that for a number of details in the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry we found analogies in the decoration of ordinary Coptic tunics. The same ornament may be used for a rug, a curtain, a wallpaper or a lady's dress.

V. THE DATE

We are now confronted with the task of dating the Dumbarton Oaks textile. Unfortunately we can expect little help from the related Antinoë silks which would be the natural starting point for this inquiry. The dates given to this remarkable group of textiles vary from the third to the sixth century and none of the various suggestions made is supported by sufficient evidence.

responds to the original one. The more famous Boar Hunt ensemble belongs to the same group. For these stuccoes see:

Royal Academy of Art, London: Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art (1931), no. 75 p. 40 (no illustration).

R. M. Riefstahl, in *Art Bulletin*, 13, 1931 p. 452 (no ill.).

Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, February 1933 pp. 48 f. (illustration of Boar Hunt only).

Persian Survey, I p. 631 ff.; IV pl. 176 A, C, 178 E.

Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, March 1940 (illustration showing all three ensembles, "439-484 A.D.").

¹⁸² Peirce & Tyler loc. cit. I pl. 141. Note, however, that it is not absolutely certain whether the frame belongs to the piece.

¹⁸³ C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East* (1937), p. 55.

Falke¹⁸⁴ is convinced that, generally speaking, the textiles from Antinoë are not earlier than the fifth or sixth century because of certain analogies in the mosaics of Ravenna. According to him Sassanian influence makes itself felt chiefly during the sixth century and it is to this period that he attributes the silk stuff no. 311/96 in Berlin, one of the immediate prototypes of our piece.

Herzfeld¹⁸⁵ does not argue in detail the question of date. His main point is to prove against Falke that all the Antinoë silks are Sassanian. It is true that according to him the earliest pieces belong to the third century. But since the silks with animal protomes belong to the second or even to the third stage in the evolution of the group they would, also in Herzfeld's chronology, date from the fifth or sixth century.

The most elaborate argumentation, spread over many different articles, is that by Pfister. It will be remembered that he, like Herzfeld, regards our silks as purely Sassanian. It will also be remembered that it was he who distinguished between pieces woven in twill technique and others, such as no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet, woven in a technique akin to that of the Han silks. This, according to him, is the technique used in Persia before King Shapur introduced weavers — and with them twill technique — from Syria, an event which he places around 260 A.D. No. 1108 would thus belong to the third century while full-fledged twills, such as no. 1148 in the same museum, would not have been made until some time after this event, i.e. late in the fourth century.¹⁸⁶ Another line of argument leads him to the same conclusion. The Antinoë silks were not, as far as we know, used for the decoration of ordinary Coptic costumes. Pfister believes that they all adorned Persian costumes.¹⁸⁷ Persian costumes were adopted at the Byzantine court and Antinoë was an important center of Byzantine administration. Yet the graves so far excavated have not yielded any of the ordinary Byzantine costumes of the sixth and seventh centuries which we know from other sites. He concludes that these graves cover only the Roman and earlier Byzantine periods, and those in which Persian costumes were found would belong to the fourth and fifth centuries when Antinoë attained its greatest importance as an administrative center.¹⁸⁸ The tapestries with animal protomes (Lyons no. 266 b, 268 b) are attributed by Pfister to the earliest phase of this Persian vogue, i.e. to the fourth century.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Falke loc. cit. p. 35.

¹⁸⁵ E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (1927), p. 69.

¹⁸⁶ *Etudes Linossier*, pp. 473, 474 n. 1. — No. 1148 is here quoted as no. 1140.

¹⁸⁷ *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30, p. 21 f.

¹⁸⁸ *R.d.A.A.*, 1928 p. 238 f. *Etudes Linossier* p. 465 n. 1.

¹⁸⁹ *R.d.A.A.*, 1929/30 p. 18.

Peirce and Tyler¹⁹⁰ recognize in the Antinoë silks an orientalizing phase in the development of Byzantine weaving, and conclude from the absence of the typical Byzantine silks of the later sixth and seventh centuries, that this phase must be assigned to a slightly earlier date, i.e. the first half of the sixth century.

With so many different theories before us it does not seem very promising to try to date our textile through its silk prototypes, and we may be better advised to date it on the basis of its own evidence, using mainly those features which we found were added by the weaver under the influence of his own artistic environment. In short, we shall try to date it as a Coptic work.

But before we review these Coptic features from a chronological standpoint let us pursue a more general line of thought. We found that the animal protomes were undoubtedly of Persian origin. This motif must, however, have become known to Mediterranean weavers at one point. Even if our textile were not so definitely an Egyptian work the mere fact that the silks were found in Egypt proves that this particular motif was "exported." There are also other groups of monuments, apart from textiles, in the Mediterranean countries in which the same ornament is used. First of all we have the two mosaics in Antioch. Unfortunately neither of them can be accurately dated, but for the Phoenix mosaic there is at least a *terminus post quem* in the shape of a coin of Theodosius II (408–450) found beneath the floor.¹⁹¹ Lassus believes that the floor must have been laid soon after this date; for on the other mosaic, which shows the same ram protomes in a slightly more degenerate form, the rams are accompanied by an acanthus scroll¹⁹² which is less developed than those on certain Antioch pavements generally accepted as being of fifth century date.¹⁹³ This argument is perhaps not quite conclusive since we know from the mosaics of Jerash what strangely classical scrolls were still — or again — designed in Syria in the sixth century.¹⁹⁴ Regarding the field design of the Phoenix mosaic, for which Lassus claims a wide distribution in fifth century Antioch, it seems that the only dated example of a similar carpet of flowers is a mosaic in Bath F¹⁹⁵ which has an inscription of 537 A.D. Therefore it is perhaps not necessary

¹⁹⁰ Loc. cit. II p. 84 f.

¹⁹¹ This coin is not mentioned in *Antioch*, II ("Excavations of 1933–36") since it was only found in 1937. Cf. J. Lassus, in *Monuments Piot*, 36, 1938, p. 106 n. 5.

¹⁹² *Antioch*, II pl. 45.

¹⁹³ *Antioch*, II pls. 70–74.

¹⁹⁴ J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers 3, 1931), p. 45, Diagr. 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Antioch*, III, 1941, pl. 47 no. 104 and p. 84.

to assume that the ram friezes at Antioch must have been made so shortly after 450. But it does seem that there is a *terminus ante quem* of about 540 A.D., when that region of Antioch-Daphne where the Phoenix mosaic was found seems to have been abandoned.¹⁹⁶

Another class of monuments on which we found the double protomes are the animal capitals. Among these we have distinguished two main groups, those which are really "Theodosian" capitals, and the capitals in two zones. The first group can be dated mainly in the middle and the second half of the fifth century, while the second group seems to belong to the sixth century.¹⁹⁷

The least we can conclude from this is that the animal protomes were in vogue in Byzantine architectural sculpture between about 450 A.D. and the reign of Justinian. The time limits are the same as those for the two Antioch mosaics. Both the first and the second type of capital occur in Egypt. Obviously this is the period in which a Coptic weaver is most likely to have taken up the motif.

The capitals may lead us even a step further. We found that the Antinoë silks are related to the second rather than to the first type. This would indicate that the particular wave which they represent did not reach the Mediterranean world until early in the sixth century, which would thus be a *terminus post quem* for our tapestry. Against this it may be argued that in our particular case the animal busts hark back rather to the first type.¹⁹⁸ But this argument is invalidated by the fact that the half-length figures with forelegs stretched out and backs grown together also exist in the second group.¹⁹⁹ Moreover we found that the units in their entirety (i.e. animals plus cups) are reminiscent of a genuine two-zone capital.²⁰⁰ And thus, if any influence of the capitals on our design is admitted, it would have to be regarded as emanating from the second (i.e. the sixth century) type.

But this whole line of thought is based on the assumption that the similarity between animal capitals and textiles is more than accidental. To find solid ground for dating our tapestry we must take into account other features.

There are, for instance, the birds on the semicircular cups. The parallels for these were (a) a group of small Byzantine capitals, (b) Byzantine crescent-shaped ear-rings, (c) a fresco in Bawit.

The date of the capitals we found to be controversial. According to Wulff they all belong to the twelfth century. We suggested above²⁰¹ that

¹⁹⁶ Lassus loc. cit. p. 82.

¹⁹⁷ See above p. 19.

¹⁹⁸ See above p. 24.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. p. 18 n. 47.

²⁰⁰ See above p. 28.

²⁰¹ Page 28.

the type at least might go back to early Byzantine times. But no capital of this "cubic" shape is earlier than Justinian.²⁰² Therefore if the semicircular cups are really imitations of such capitals we have here a very definite *terminus post quem*. On the other hand the similarity may be again accidental. But even so, the addorsed birds with heads reversed cannot be traced back in the Byzantine world beyond the sixth century. The crescent-shaped ear-rings are generally accepted as originating during that period;²⁰³ the birds in Chapel XVIII at Bawit can hardly be earlier. As Coptic work they are of particular interest for us (figs. 24, 25). They form part of a decorative frieze with a framework of interlaced squares and lozenges similar to a sculptured frieze in one of the churches at Bawit.²⁰⁴ This sculptured frieze belongs to the sixth century.²⁰⁵ Among the decorative sculptures attributable to the fifth century this type of frieze does not occur.

The other elements added by the weaver to the design in the field cannot be exactly dated. We found that scroll-types related to those in our tapestry occur in Egypt as early as the fourth century (Oxyrhynchus) while some similarity also exists with that in a fresco in Chapel XII at Bawit, which is not earlier than the one just mentioned.²⁰⁶ We may, however, say that this scroll is more degenerate and barbarized than ours (fig. 28).

The heart-shaped blossoms occur, as we saw, at a very early date, but they are also found in sixth century mosaics. There may be some significance in the fact that we do not find in our textile the more elaborate varieties of these flowers characteristic of the "Alexandrian" silks which are usually assigned to the sixth century. But as far as tapestries are concerned these complicated floral motifs are only used in very late and degenerate pieces,²⁰⁷ too late to be useful as a *terminus ante quem* for this ornament in our tapestry.

Further criteria for dating the textile may, however, be derived from our analysis of the border. One at least of the two types of horsemen we found to be frequent in "purple" tapestries. The dating of this class of Coptic textiles is one of the most urgent tasks yet to be accomplished by scholars in this field. There is one piece, with a horseman roundel, in the

²⁰² Kautzsch loc. cit. p. 182.

²⁰³ See above p. 26 n. 81.

²⁰⁴ E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouit* (1911), pls. 22, 23, 26, 27.

²⁰⁵ Some of the pilaster capitals belonging to the same decoration (Chassinat loc. cit. pl. 17) are of the degenerate Corinthian type which I have shown to be contemporary with typical capitals of the time of Justinian. Cf. *Archaeologia*, 87, 1937, p. 190.

²⁰⁶ Compare the style of the busts in the two chapels: Clédât loc. cit. pls. 33 and 67.

²⁰⁷ See above p. 35.

Brussels Museum, which, if it comes from the tomb of Aurelius Colluthus at Antinoë, would have to have been made before 450 A.D.²⁰⁸ More trustworthy is the evidence supplied by a purple fragment with figures from the excavations at Karanis which has a *terminus ante quem* of 460 A.D.²⁰⁹ We cannot yet say how much earlier such textiles may have been made or how much longer the type survived after that date, but we are justified in concluding that it was in existence in the middle of the fifth century.

The tapestries with polychrome mythological figures are not securely dated. Pfister assigns the "Chale de Sabine" to the fourth or fifth century, chiefly because a Persian kaftan was found in the same tomb which must therefore date from the period when, according to him, Persian fashions were in vogue in Antinoë.²¹⁰ Peirce and Tyler, on the other hand, suggest a date around 500 A.D., on the basis of general comparisons with mosaics, ivories and silver works and particularly with the Apollo-Daphne ivory in Ravenna, for which they rightly claim a similar, "half poetical half comical" character.²¹¹ This description applies perhaps even to a greater degree to the sculptured representations of "Daphne" in some of the Ahnas gables which have often been compared to the scene in the "Chale de Sabine."²¹² The female figures are as similar as can be expected in view of the great difference of material, and the conclusion seems inescapable that they both reflect the same phase of Coptic art. We found²¹³ that the Ahnas gables are not much earlier, nor much later, than the middle of the fifth century and a similar date may be suggested for the "Chale de Sabine." This, however, is one of the least degenerate of the "small scale polychrome mythological" tapestries; the class as a whole covers a considerable period. We can regard the "Chale de Sabine" only as a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of this particular type of decoration. On the other hand, there is the Battle Scene in Lyons, which we found to be closely comparable to our horsemen roundels in head shapes, proportions and costumes. Toll has shown that this scene probably represents a battle between Persians and Ethiopians and, if so, it can refer only to Khusrau I's expedition to Yemen which took place around 570 A.D. He consequently dates the Lyons "jambière" between 570 and 600 A.D.²¹⁴ If it were not for this his-

²⁰⁸ Errera loc. cit. no. 197, p. 92 and p. 20.

²⁰⁹ L. M. Wilson, *Ancient Textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection* (1933), no. 66 p. 30 and pl. V.

²¹⁰ *R.d.A.A.*, 1928 p. 228 ff.

²¹¹ Loc. cit. I p. 92.

²¹² U. Monneret de Villard loc. cit. figs. 38, 39, 41. Our fig. 36.

²¹³ *Archaeologia*, 87 (1937), p. 189.

²¹⁴ N. Toll, in *Recueil Kondakov*, pp. 97 ff.

torical clue one might have assigned it to a slightly earlier period. In any case the disproportionately large heads, the angular movements and the preference for pure profile figures indicate that this piece may be considerably later than the "Chale de Sabine" which still preserves a certain amount of classical gracefulness, especially in the proportions and in the curved outlines of the figures. Our horsemen, however, side with the Lyons pieces rather than with the "Chale de Sabine," and we are thus induced to assign them to the sixth century even if perhaps to a less advanced stage than that assigned by Toll to the battle scene.

No chronological clue can be obtained from our analysis of the beaded frames, in view of the frequent occurrence of this motif in different spheres and periods. The date of the Sassanian stucco reliefs, which we found to afford the closest parallels, is not yet satisfactorily established. Let us merely note that the roundels from Tepe-Hissar Damghan can perhaps be dated through coin finds in the period between 488 and 531 A.D.²¹⁵

With regard to the animals, the Persian parallels for the ankle spots are of no help in dating our tapestry since this feature survived through many centuries.²¹⁶ In Coptic art we found a comparison for the panther in a mid fifth century relief from Ahnas and one for the lion in a fresco in Chapel XII in Bawit. The lion in Bawit belongs to the same decoration in which we also found a comparison for our acanthus scroll. We said that this decoration dates from the sixth century at the earliest. The lion here, just as the scroll, may be described as more conventionalized than ours, but the difference in date is hardly very great.

Of the hangings and mosaics, which we found to be comparable to our piece in their general disposition, none is safely dated.

This then is the conclusion to which the various data lead us:

1. Judging by the Antioch mosaics and the animal capitals the period between 450 and Justinian is the most likely one in which a Mediterranean artist may have taken up the animal protomes.

2. The kinship of the protomes on the Antinoë silks (which were the model for the design in the field of our tapestry) with those on the sixth century type of animal capital, as well as a possible influence of these two-zone capitals on the composition of the units as we find them in our tapestry suggest a date in the sixth century.

3. The motif of the addorsed birds with heads reversed cannot be

²¹⁵ E. F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* (1937), p. 337; *Persian Survey*, I, p. 582.

²¹⁶ Cf. K. Erdmann, in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 57, 1936, p. 193 ff. figs. 5, 12, 15, 19.

traced back further than the sixth century. If the idea of placing these birds on the cups should in any way be due to the influence of "cubic" capitals with such decoration the beginning of Justinian's reign would be a safe *terminus post quem*.

4. The style of the figures in the roundels suggests a date later than that of the "Chale de Sabine" (which can be assigned to the middle of the fifth century on the analogy of sculptures from Ahnas) and is much nearer to that of the "jambière" in Lyons which Toll assigns to the late sixth century on historical grounds.

5. Our lions have an at least typological resemblance with one on a fresco at Bawit which cannot be earlier than the sixth century.

We have, therefore, strong evidence in favor of a sixth century date for the Dumbarton Oaks hanging. A more precise dating would depend on a closer investigation of (a) the problem of the "cubic" capitals with birds, (b) the development of style within the whole group of Coptic tapestries with small-scale polychrome figures, and (c) the chronology of the frescoes of Bawit with which our textiles have proved to have some remarkable affinities. Such investigations, would, however, transcend the scope of a monograph.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

We shall not pursue the study of the Dumbarton Oaks textile beyond this point. But let us now ask what this piece, in turn, can tell us about other monuments or groups of monuments.

For the art historian the tapestry gains considerable importance through its relationship to one of the groups of silks from Antinoë. We began our study by showing that the silks are the originals, while our hanging is a derivative. By providing us with a local Egyptian version of the animal protome pattern our tapestry serves to emphasize the exotic character of the original design of the silks. We found that this design can have come only from Persia.

But the break between foreign and local work is not as abrupt as the first impression might lead one to believe. Although the analysis of the field design of the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry has proved that several elements were added by the Coptic artist, most of these elements were in some way anticipated on certain silk stuffs from Antinoë. If our artist was found to have a tendency to increase organic shapes (animal and vegetable) at the expense of abstract ones, the same tendency could already be observed in some of the silks. And if the design on our textile suggested a possible

influence of certain groups of Byzantine capitals we found that the same may be true for the silks with addorsed human masks in a foliage frame.²¹⁷ Finally the birds on our semicircular cups had forerunners in the birds of the Berlin silk (no. 312).

In other words, the designer of our textile merely emphasizes elements which were already present in some of the silks. The development is continuous and in the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry we behold its most mature stage. This stage we now know definitely came about in Egypt.

Falke had used the fact that certain ornaments of the silks survive in tapestries from Antinoë as the strongest argument in favor of a local origin of the Antinoë silks.²¹⁸ Our tapestry is proof of a more intimate and organic relationship between silks and local Coptic work, a relationship not necessarily based on geographical proximity (which in this case cannot be proved) but on continuity of stylistic development. Yet we must admit that as far as the silks are concerned caution is still indicated. It is quite possible that many of them are of Egyptian manufacture. But the pattern is nevertheless Sassanian. Where the break lies we cannot yet say.²¹⁹ The problem is complicated by the fact that Mediterranean motifs certainly found their way into Persia and since in the silks those elements which might be called Mediterranean do not appear in that specifically Coptic rendering which is characteristic of our tapestry they need not necessarily be added locally.

At any rate the problem of at least this one class of Antinoë silks should be treated in terms of an organic development, starting in Persia and ending in Egypt, rather than in terms of a static group which belongs wholly either to one country or to the other. And since we have gained an approximate date for the final stage of this development we may venture a more definite pronouncement on the chronological position of the whole class. The end stage falls roughly in the period of Justinian. The silks lead up to it and cannot be much earlier. How far back we must go with a distinctly archaic piece, such as no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet, is still a matter of conjecture. But we can safely say that the whole group does not belong to the third and fourth centuries as Pfister had suggested.

We may also rule out Pfister's contention that tapestries with this type of decoration precede the silks. Our tapestry definitely follows them, and as for the fragments in Lyons their design proved to be at least on the same level as that of the more advanced members of the silk group. The fragment in Boston shows our pattern running wild. This can only be local

²¹⁷ See above p. 21.

²¹⁸ Loc. cit. p. 37.

²¹⁹ Lamm loc. cit. p. 55 f.

Coptic work, later even than the Dumbarton Oaks hanging. In the Brooklyn fragment the animal protomes are used for a monochrome composition in the traditional Coptic manner. Under these circumstances we cannot claim to have any proof of any of the tapestries with this design being Persian originals, and still less can we say that the Persians first practised this design in tapestry weave and then transferred it to twills.

There is, however, the fact that at a given point in the development the earlier technique reminiscent of the Han silks was replaced by the twill technique. This change may already have occurred while the design was still confined to Persia. But we do not know that it has anything to do with the transfer of Aramaic weavers, quite apart from the fact that we do not know under which of the Shapurs this event took place.²²⁰

On the other hand, the change from "Han" to twill technique in our group may be connected with the transfer of the design from Persia to the Mediterranean. We know from the finds at Palmyra that twill weaving was known in the Mediterranean sphere as early as the second century A.D.²²¹ If this is the correct interpretation no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet would be the only genuine Sassanian piece while all the other silks in our group would be of Mediterranean origin.

While our tapestry throws new light on the problem of the Antinoë silks it does not provide a definite solution even for the small group with which it is more immediately connected.

We can, however, claim with absolute conviction the basic pattern of our silks as Persian. Some time before the sixth century there must have existed in the Sassanian sphere a school of silk weaving which made all-over patterns such as we find in these silks. To bring this result into agreement with what is known about the development of Persian textile design is a task for the historian of Sassanian art. The principal difficulty consists in the fact that our type of pattern cannot be found among those textiles whose Sassanian origin is established beyond doubt. Our knowledge of Sassanian textile design is largely based on the patterned garments worn by the figures on the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs²²² with some additional evidence from figures on silver and stucco reliefs. The analogies between these representations and certain textiles which have survived partly in Western church treasures, partly also in Antinoë graves, are extraordinarily close,²²³

²²⁰ Herzfeld thought at one time that Shapur II (before 360) was responsible for it. Cf. *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 122.

²²¹ R. Pfister, *Nouveaux Textiles de Palmyre* (1937), p. 35 f.

²²² E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 121 ff., pl. 62 ff.; Falke loc. cit. figs. 91-95.

²²³ *Persian Survey*, IV pls. 197, 199 B, 200, 201 A, C, 202; Falke loc. cit. figs. 49, 50, 96, 98, 99; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pls. 61 ff.

much closer than we have a right to expect considering the scarcity of our Sassanian material. To deny the Sassanian origin, or at least background, even of these pieces means carrying scientific scepticism to a point where research in the history of art might as well be given up altogether.²²⁴ But if the textiles of the Taq-i-Bustan type are accepted as Sassanian, as they generally are, there seems to be no room in Persian art for our series of silks.

Neither the animal protomes, nor the heraldic grouping of animals, nor the arrangement of units in tightly packed rows is characteristic of the textile patterns of the Taq-i-Bustan. Animals are usually depicted as full-length figures, and they are often individually framed in medallions. Moreover most patterns are composed on two axes. It is true that heraldic groups are not entirely unknown,²²⁵ and there is one fragment of a design in the Taq-i-Bustan²²⁶ which judging by a very close analogy among the actually extant silks²²⁷ consisted of detached and unframed figures of rams in closely packed rows. But the difference between this pattern and ours is still considerable, and especially when we take into account the most archaic member of our group, no. 1108 in the Musée Guimet with its semi-abstract design, we cannot but assume that our silks are rooted in an entirely different tradition of ornamental art.

It would not be so difficult to accept both these traditions as Sassanian if it could be shown that they represent two different chronological stages. But geometric compositions in tiers and medallions with full-length figures occur together in Sassanian stucco revêtements.²²⁸ The Dumbarton Oaks tapestry itself suggests that the pattern used for the field design was not the only type of Persian decoration known at its period. While we have not enough evidence to trace the whole design on the border of our piece back to a Persian model, the roundels and the full-length figures of animals do presuppose the existence of a type of Persian ornamental design quite different from that used in the field and closely akin to patterns known from the Taq-i-Bustan and from stucco medallions related to it.

This would seem to indicate that the "Taq-i-Bustan Style" and our Antinoë style cannot be reconciled on the basis of a succession in time. If the Damghan revêtements, or any of the other stucco reliefs with animal roundels, should really prove to date from a period around, or before, 500 A.D.,²²⁹ it would be further proof of the existence of this type of decoration side by

²²⁴ J. Sauvaget, in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1938 p. 126 ff.

²²⁵ Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, fig. 34.

²²⁶ Ibid. fig. 35. *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I p. 301 fig. 1.

²²⁷ See above p. 40 n. 155.

²²⁸ E. F. Schmidt loc. cit. pls. 72, 73.

²²⁹ See above p. 52.

side with that which inspired our field design. And the Taq-i-Bustan itself can no longer be regarded as firmly dated in the late sixth or early seventh century.²³⁰ If Erdmann's fifth century date were adopted the textile patterns represented on these reliefs would be more or less contemporaneous with those on our Antinoë silks. If on the other hand the traditional dating is upheld it would have to be assumed that by that time our type of pattern was no longer very much in fashion. But it would still have to be granted that in the preceding period both types had existed side by side. It must be left to the orientalists to explain this dualism in the ornamental style of Persian textiles.

As far as Egypt is concerned we have gained tangible proof of definite Sassanian influence on local craftsmen (aside from, or as a result of, such actual importations as may have taken place), and we can say for certain that this influence made itself felt during the sixth century. This is as likely a period for Persian influence in Egypt as the fourth and fifth centuries. Pfister himself admits that the absence of the later types of Coptic garments in the Antinoë graves merely rules out the end of the Byzantine period, and that the first half of the sixth century would still be a possible date for the Persian deposits.²³¹

Whether this influence was confined to the weavers of Antinoë, or even to weavers generally, without extending to other arts, we cannot yet say. It will be remembered that there was no definite proof of our textile having come from that site although there were strong indications that this was indeed the case.

At any rate, to judge by the scarcity of parallels among Coptic tapestries, the field design of our hanging is not a typical product of its period. It is an essentially foreign and exotic piece of work. The horsemen roundels of the border, on the other hand, show connections both with earlier and with later Coptic work and represent a definite phase within the local development.

We found that the type had previously existed in "purple" tapestries. The translation into a polychrome style is hardly due to a caprice of this particular artist. The small-figured polychrome panel is familiar from the "Chale de Sabine" and pieces related to it, but it may be asked whether in the last resort this type of panel is really a local creation. Pfister has ascribed the polychromy of the "Chale de Sabine" and its relatives to Sassa-

²³⁰ K. Erdmann, in *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), p. 79 ff. Refuted by E. Herzfeld, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I, 1938 p. 91 ff. Rejoinder by K. Erdmann, in *Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress fuer Archæologie, Berlin 21.-26. August 1939*, 1940.

²³¹ *Etudes Linossier*, p. 465, n. 1.

nian influence. This theory seems to receive striking confirmation through our hanging and the Battle Scene in Lyons, two pieces of obvious Sassanian parentage both of which show small-scale polychrome figure scenes related in style to those on the "Chale de Sabine." May we not, therefore, conclude that the same Persian wave which brought the Antinoë silks to Egypt is also responsible for the change from a monochrome to a polychrome style? Our hanging would then be "Sassanian" in a wider sense than we have so far assumed. It would mark the arrival of a new figure style which was to play a great part in later Coptic textile design.

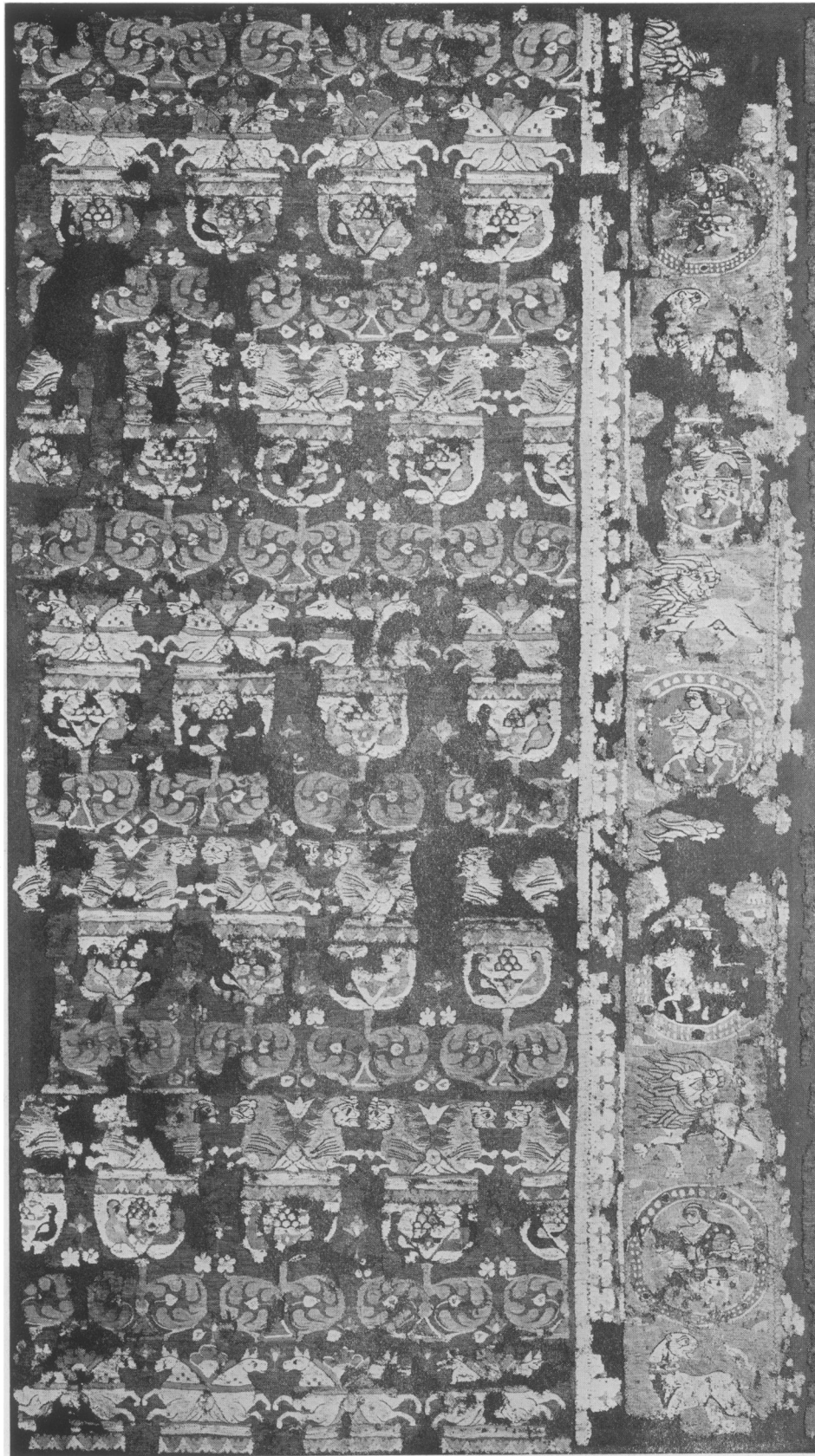
It is quite possible that the small-scale polychrome figures, such as we find on the "Chale de Sabine," are under foreign influence. Although polychromy itself is entirely in the local Hellenistic tradition there is in these textiles that element of grotesque expressiveness which makes them the exact counterpart in textile weaving to the figure sculptures from Ahnas, and these have previously been shown to have absorbed Asiatic elements.²³² But there is no proof that this influence came from Persia, and in any case it belongs to an earlier phase of Coptic art than our hanging. Our horsemen medallions and the Lyons Battle Scene are more advanced in style than the "Chale de Sabine." At their time the polychrome, small-figured style, whatever its origin, had already become a local tradition. The "grotesque" figure style and the Antinoë silk patterns cannot be explained by the same oriental wave. All that can be safely deduced from the occurrence of both these elements on our hanging is that the Antinoë silk patterns were in vogue during a certain phase of the development of this particular figure style.

We uphold our original thesis that the horsemen roundels are rooted in local tradition. But they are valuable evidence of the strides the small-scale polychrome style had made during the earlier phase of its existence, and they may also be of value as a point of reference when it comes to determining the evolution and the chronology of the numerous later Coptic textiles with decadent polychrome figure work. Thus our tapestry may, in spite of its exceptional character, contribute something to the study of the more common classes of Coptic textiles.

It is, however, not in this aspect that the chief importance of the textile lies. The main point about the "Horse and Lion Tapestry" is that on it conventional themes are represented in an original manner. The student of medieval art is used to following a given iconographic type through its various renderings by different artists and in different schools and periods. He is familiar with a process of artistic creation in which faithful copying

²³² Cf. *Archaeologia*, 87 (1937), p. 207.

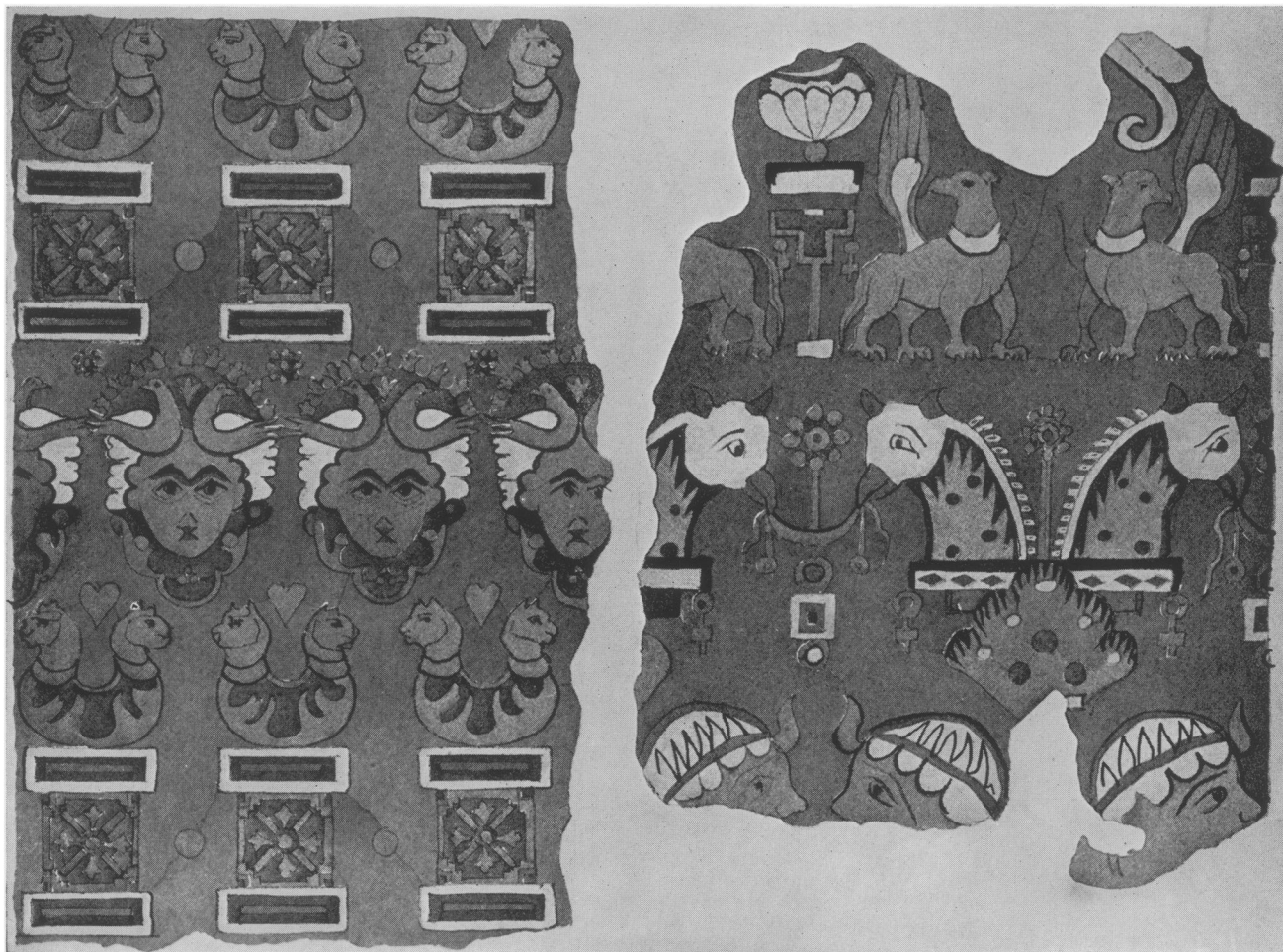
and original interpretation are strangely blended. But rarely can this process be traced in the field of Coptic textile art. To be sure, most textile patterns migrate; they pass from workshop to workshop, from generation to generation. But as a rule they suffer severely in the course of repeated transmission. All kinds of misunderstandings occur, until finally the pattern becomes all but unintelligible. By contrast, the Dumbarton Oaks tapestry is an instance of "creative copying." Indeed, we found it possible in this case to define with a rare degree of certainty both the affiliations and the original achievement of an imaginative designer.



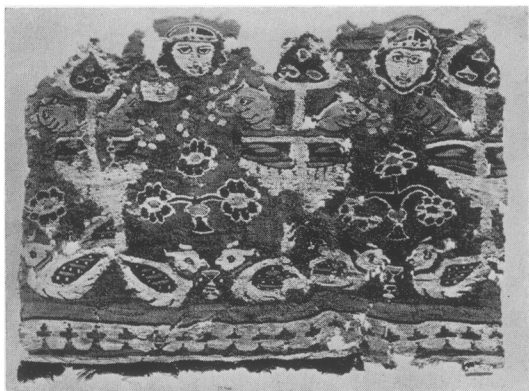
1. THE HORSE AND LION TAPESTRY
DUMBARTON OAKS, NO. 39.13



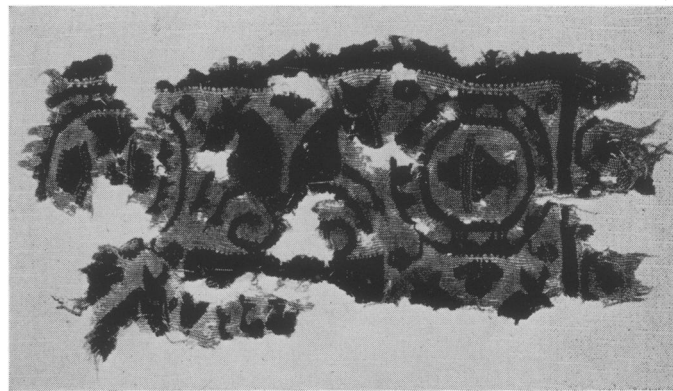
2. TAPESTRY
DUMBARTON OAKS, NO. 39.13 (BEFORE RE-MOUNTING)



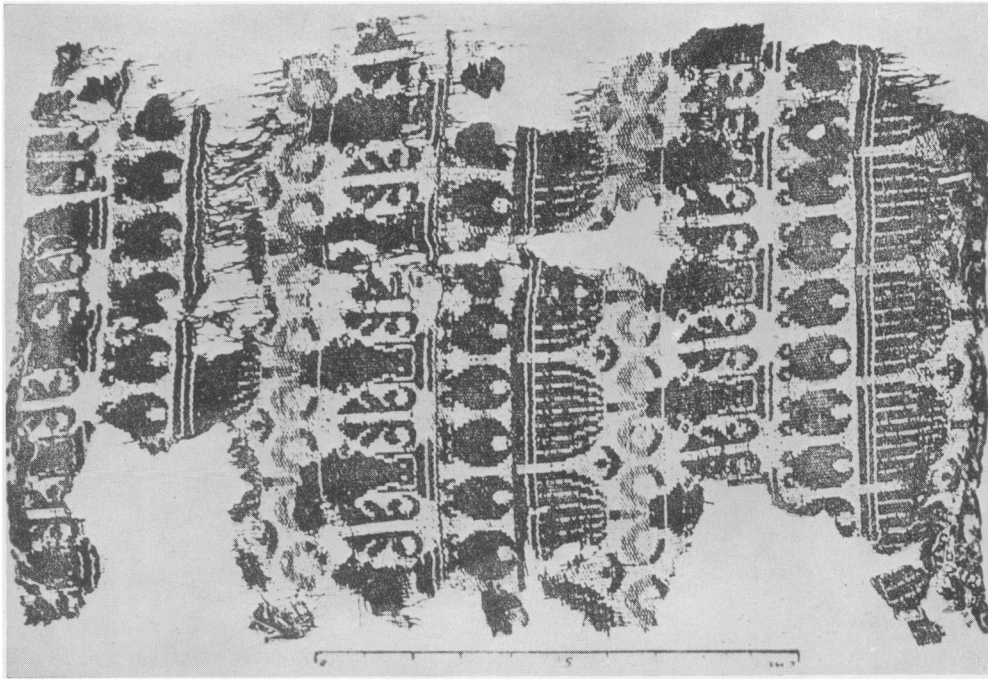
3. TAPESTRY FRAGMENTS
LYONS, MUSÉE DES TISSUS, NOS. 266B, 268B



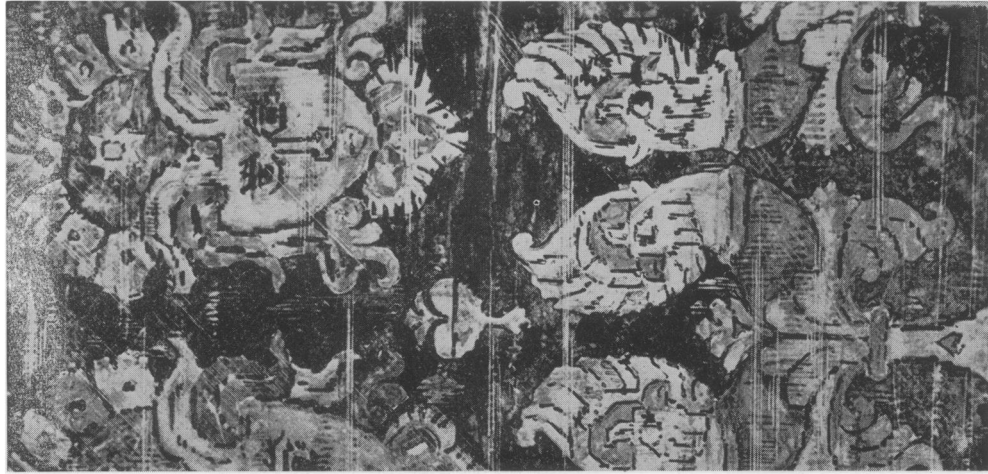
4. TAPESTRY FRAGMENT
BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, NO. 27.566



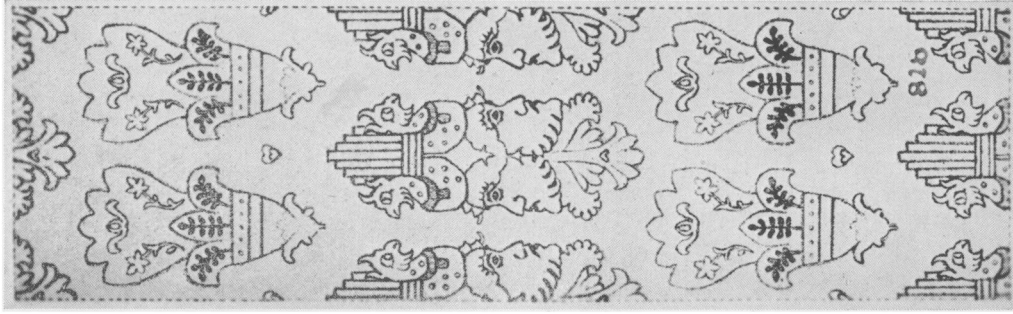
5. TAPESTRY FRAGMENT
BROOKLYN MUSEUM, NO. 15.435



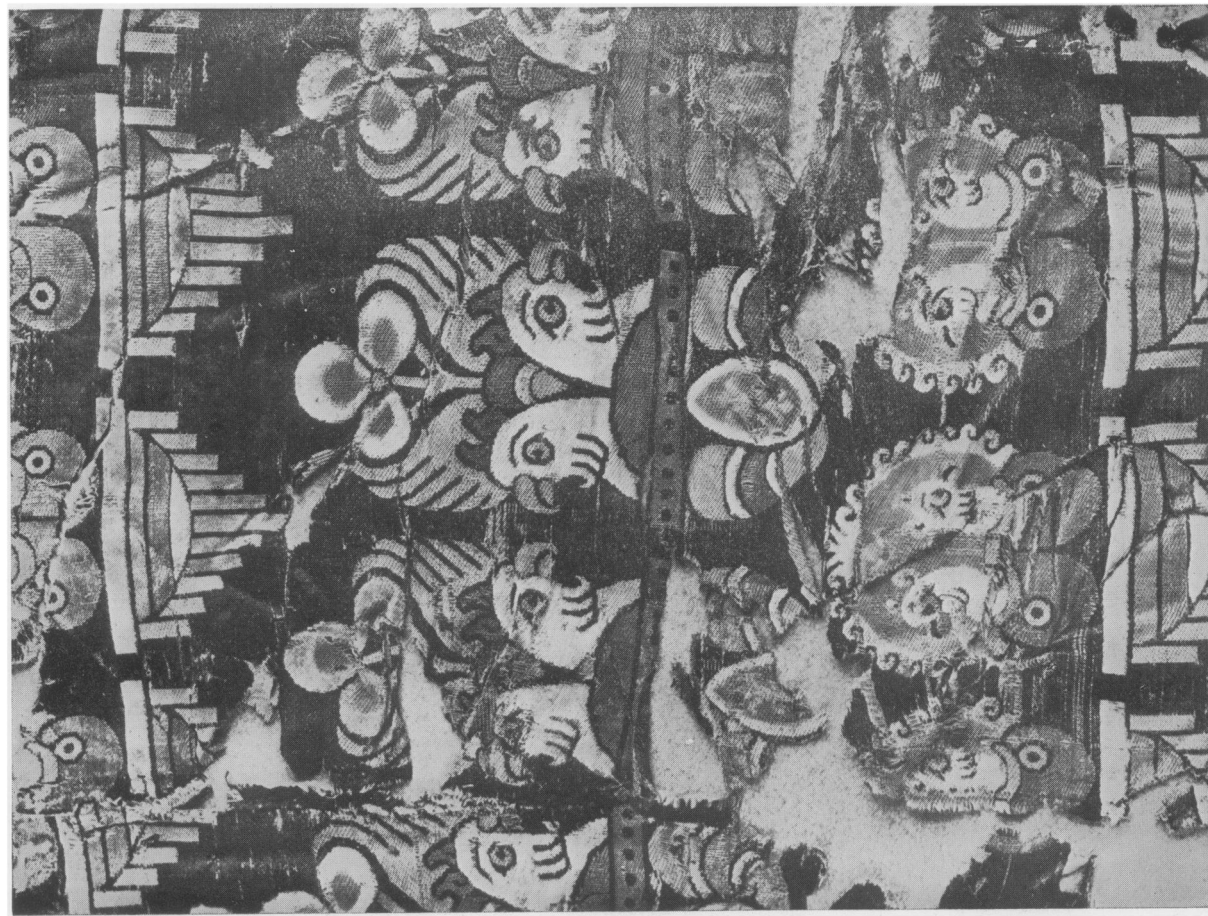
6. SILK FROM ANTINOË
PARIS, MUSÉE GUIMET, NO. 1108



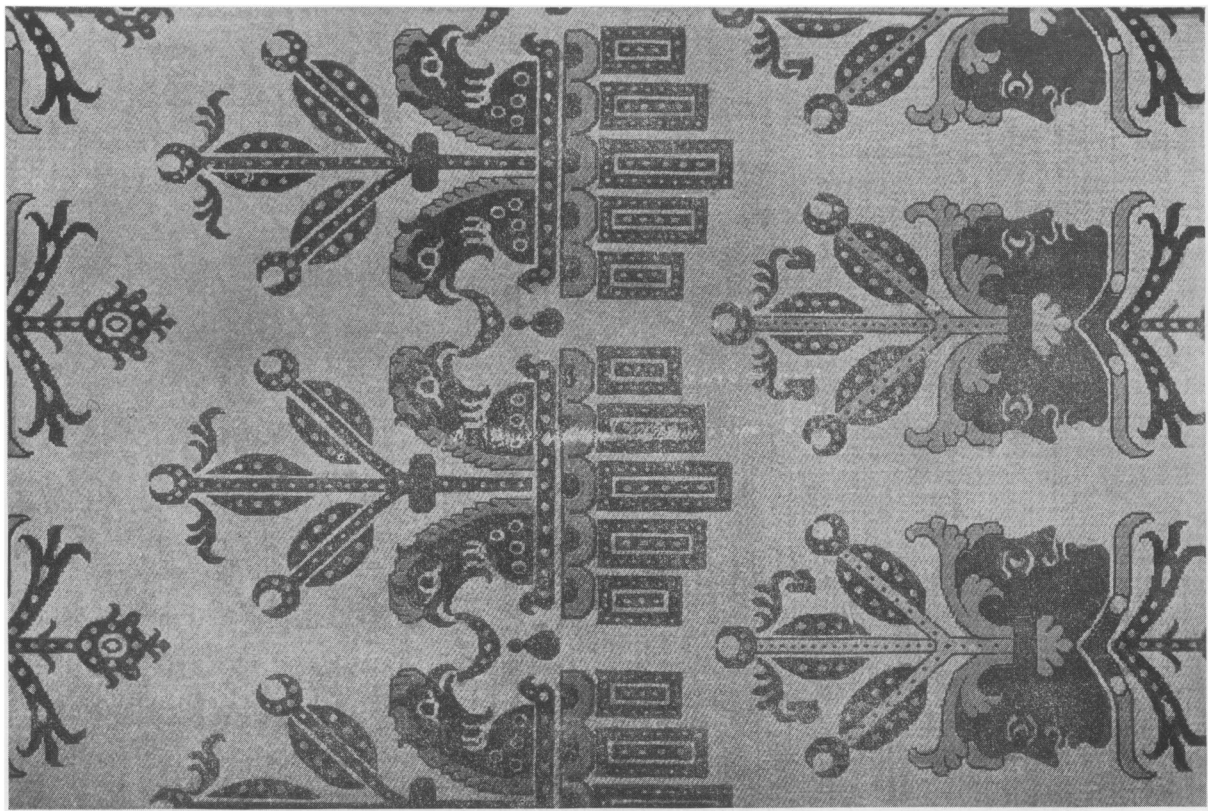
7. SILK FROM ANTINOË
LYONS, MUSÉE DES TISSUS, NO. 363



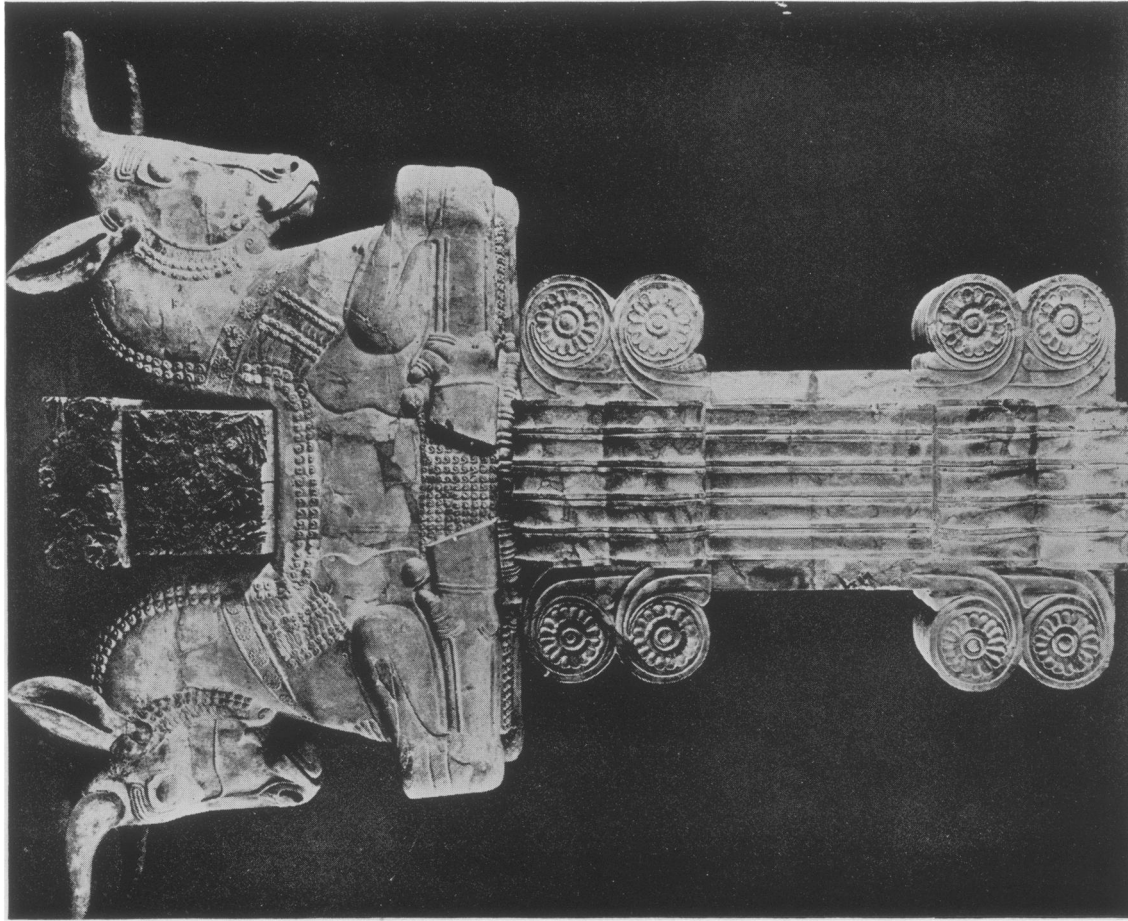
8. SILK FROM ANTINOË
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT
MUSEUM, NO. 828



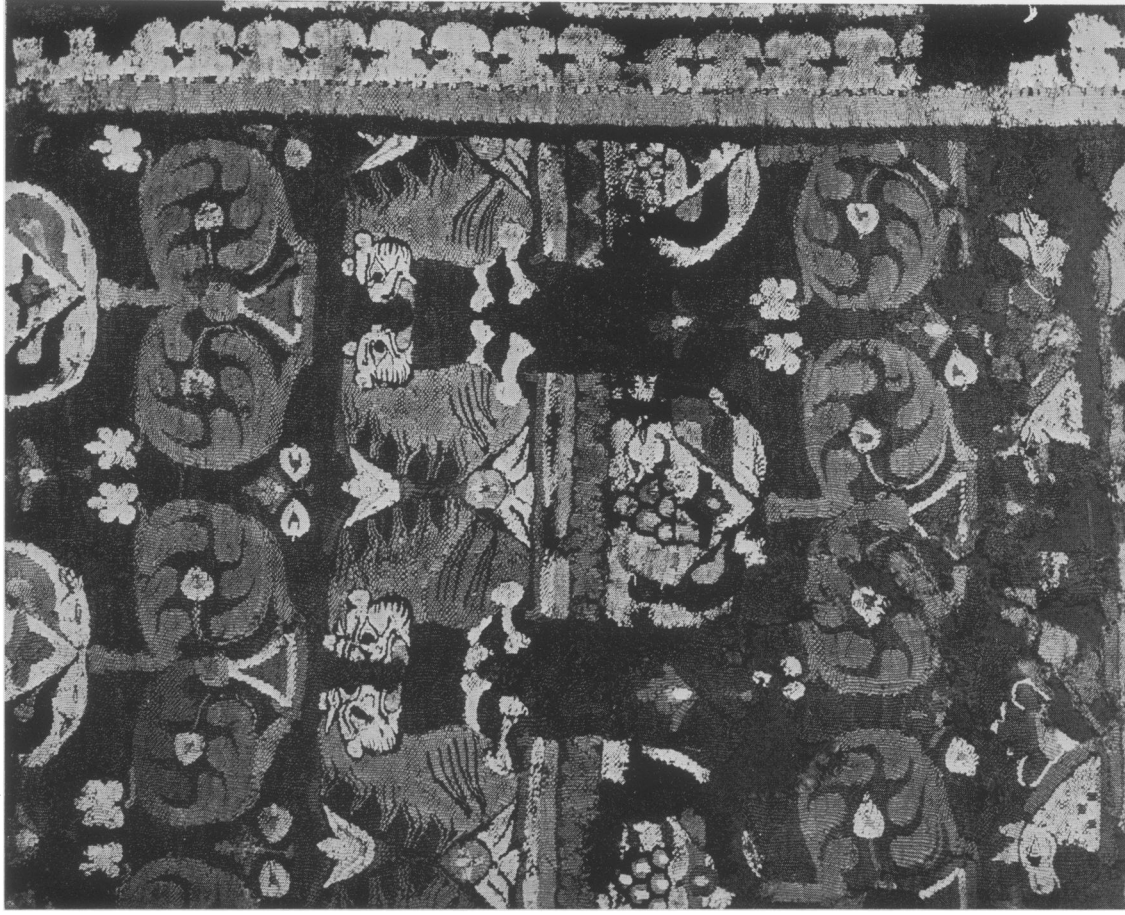
9. SILK FROM ANTINOË
PARIS, MUSÉE GUIMET, NO. 1148



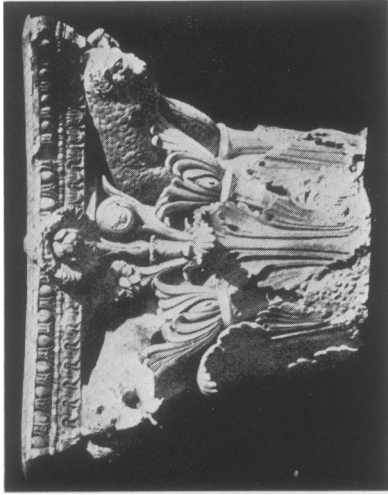
10. SILK FROM ANTINOË
BERLIN, KUNSTGEWERBEMUSEUM, NO. 311/96



11. COLUMN CAPITAL FROM SUSA, FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
PARIS, LOUVRE



12. TAPESTRY. DUMBARTON OAKS NO. 39.13
DETAIL



13. CAPITAL FROM TEMPLE OF CONCORDIA,
ROME. FIRST CENTURY A.D. ROME,
TABULARIUM



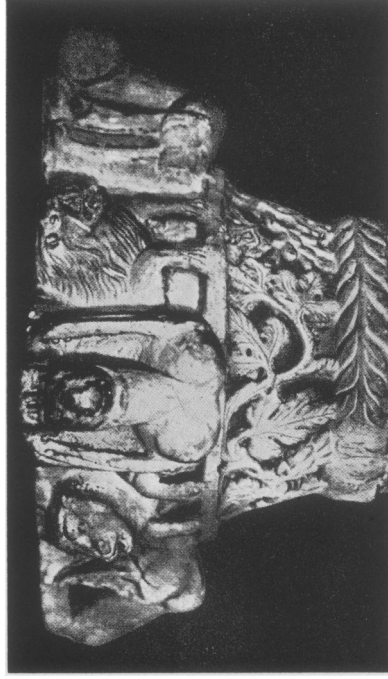
14. CAPITAL FROM TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR,
ROME. FIRST CENTURY B.C.



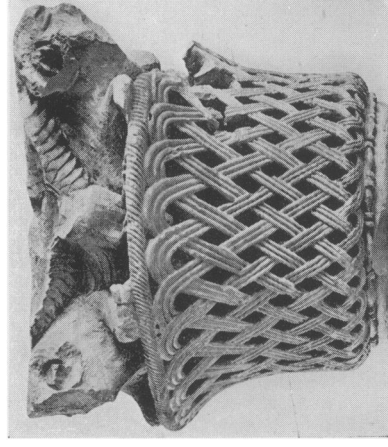
15. CAPITAL FROM HIPPODROME, CONSTANTINOPLE.
FIFTH CENTURY A.D. CONSTANTINOPLE MUSEUM,
NO. 750



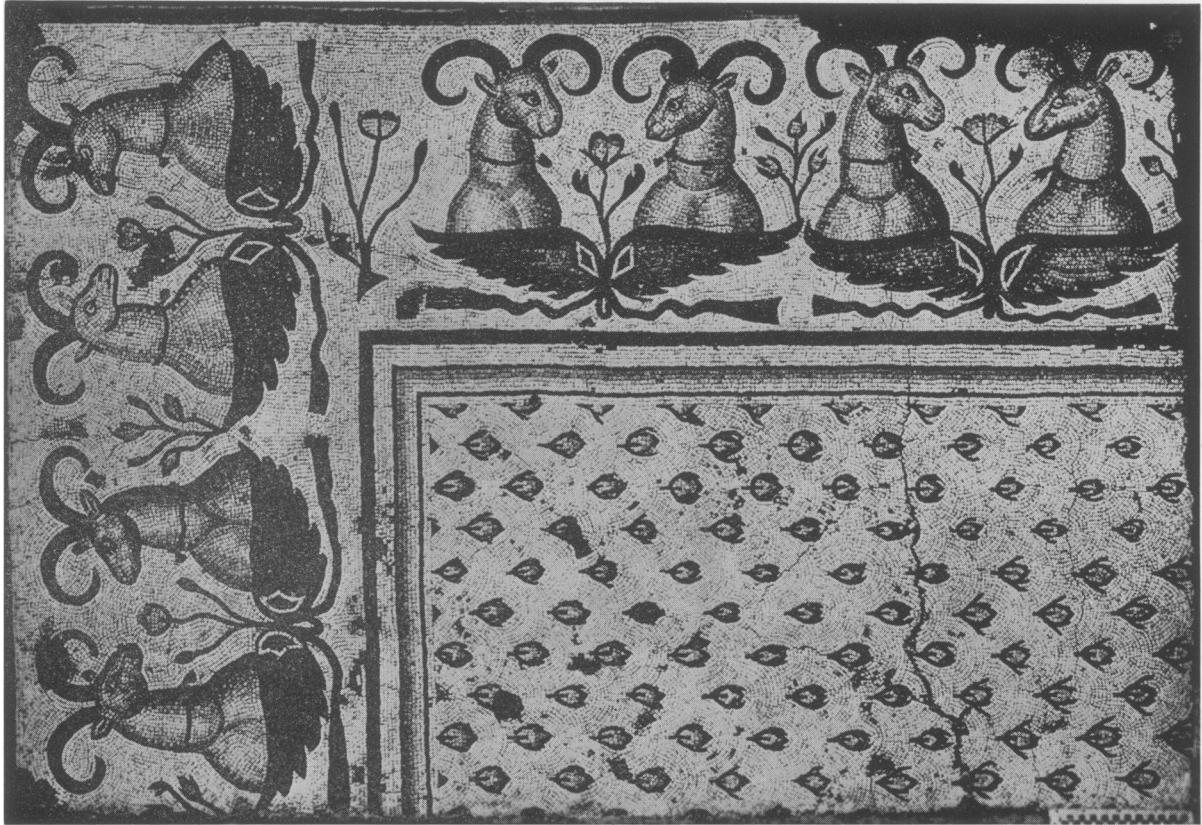
16. CAPITAL. FIFTH CENTURY A.D. RAVENNA,
MUSEO ARCIVESCOVILE



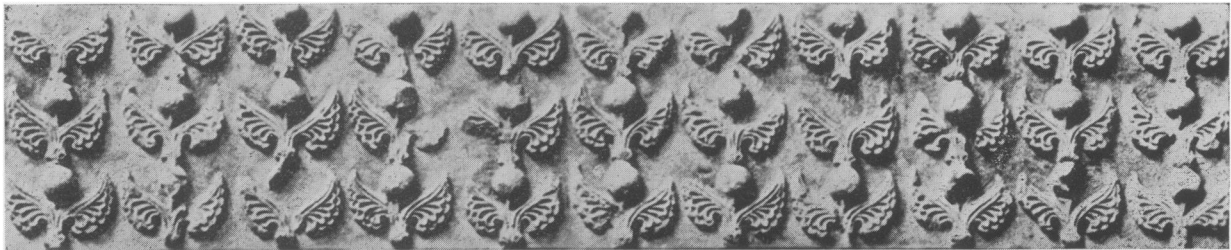
17. CAPITAL. SIXTH CENTURY A.D. RAVENNA,
MUSEO ARCIVESCOVILE



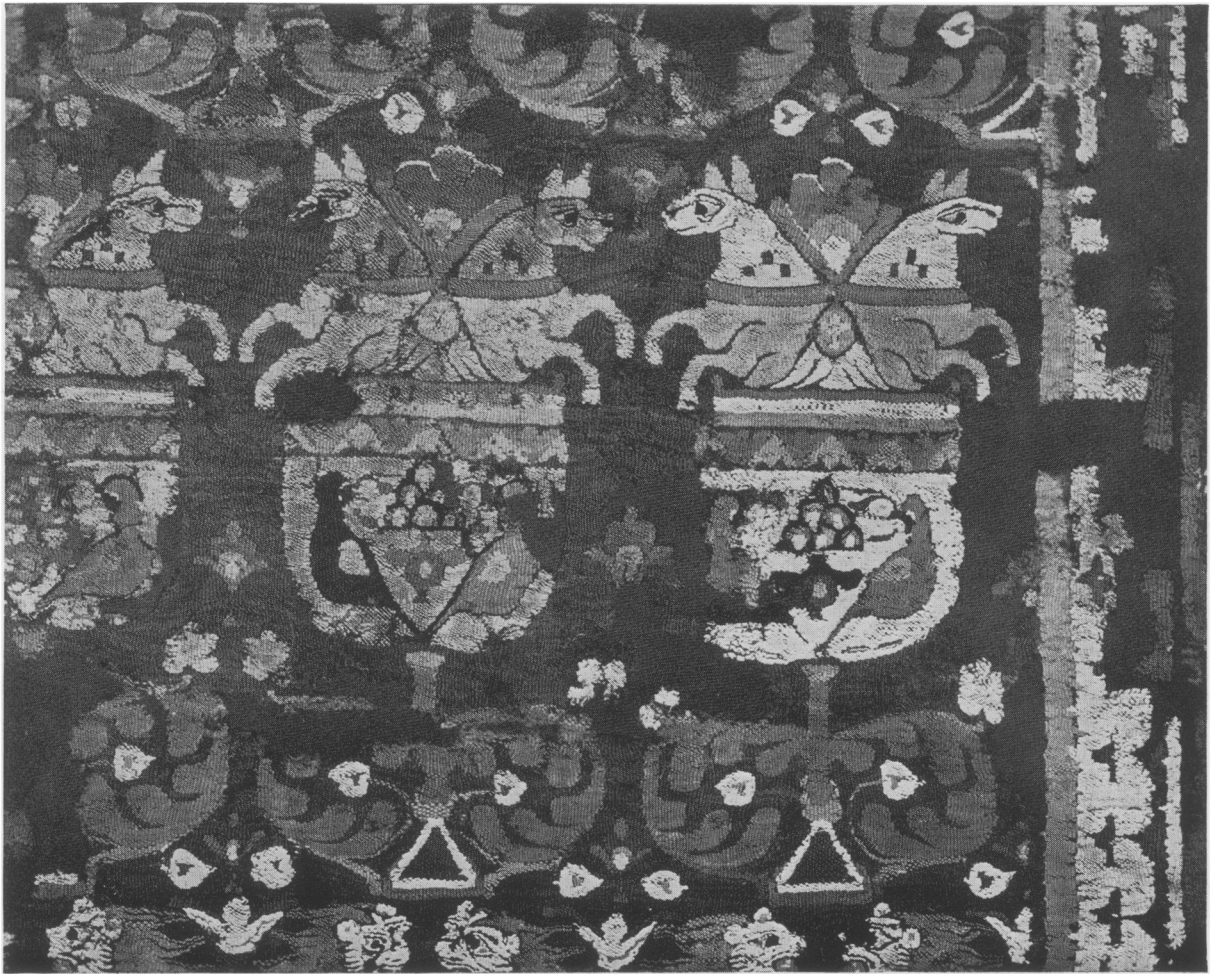
18. CAPITAL FROM BAWIT. SIXTH CENTURY
A.D. PARIS, LOUVRE



19. PHOENIX MOSAIC FROM ANTIOCH. PARIS, LOUVRE. DETAIL



20. SASSANIAN STUCCO REVETMENT. NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NO. 31.50.2-6



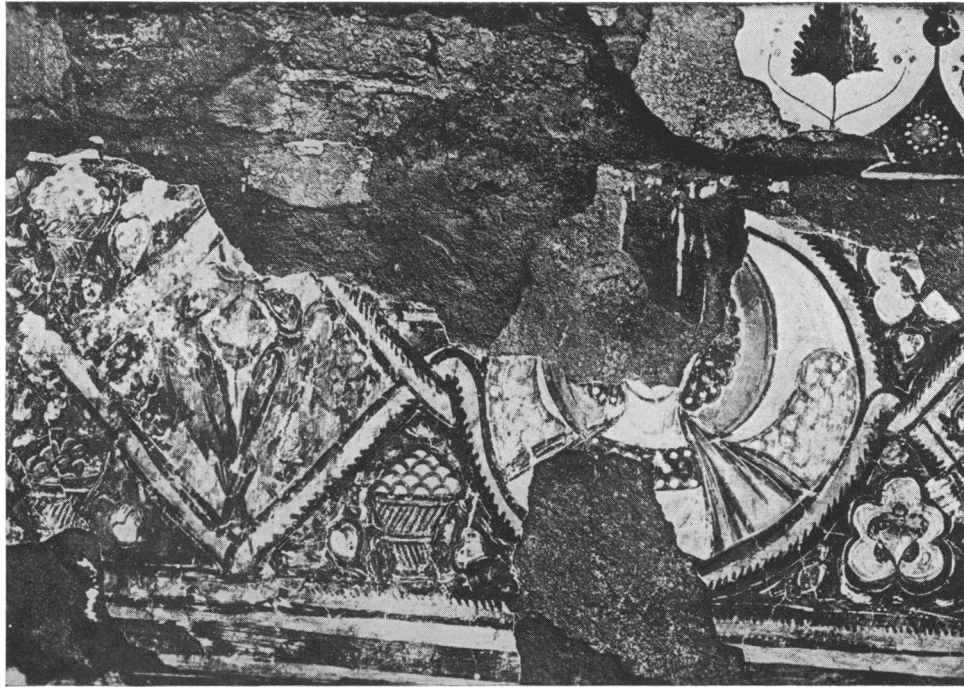
21. TAPESTRY. DUMBARTON OAKS NO. 39.13. DETAIL



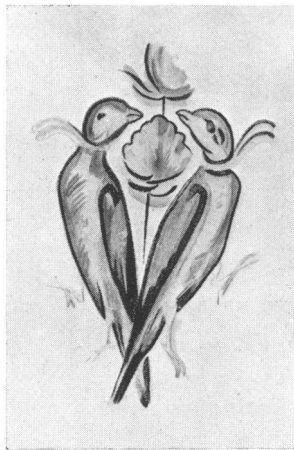
22. CAPITAL. CONSTANTINOPLE MUSEUM, NO. 751



23. CAPITAL FROM CONSTANTINOPLE. BERLIN, KAISER
FRIEDRICH MUSEUM



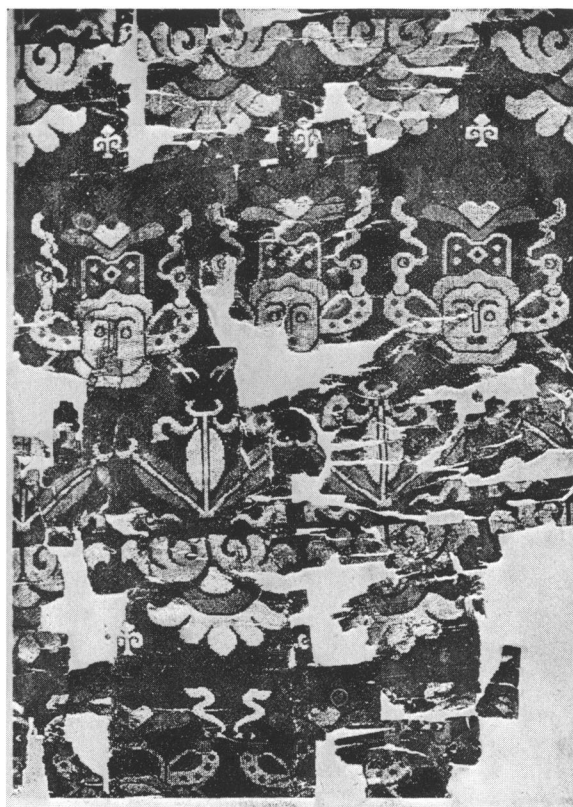
24. FRESCO. BAWIT, CHAPEL NO. XVIII



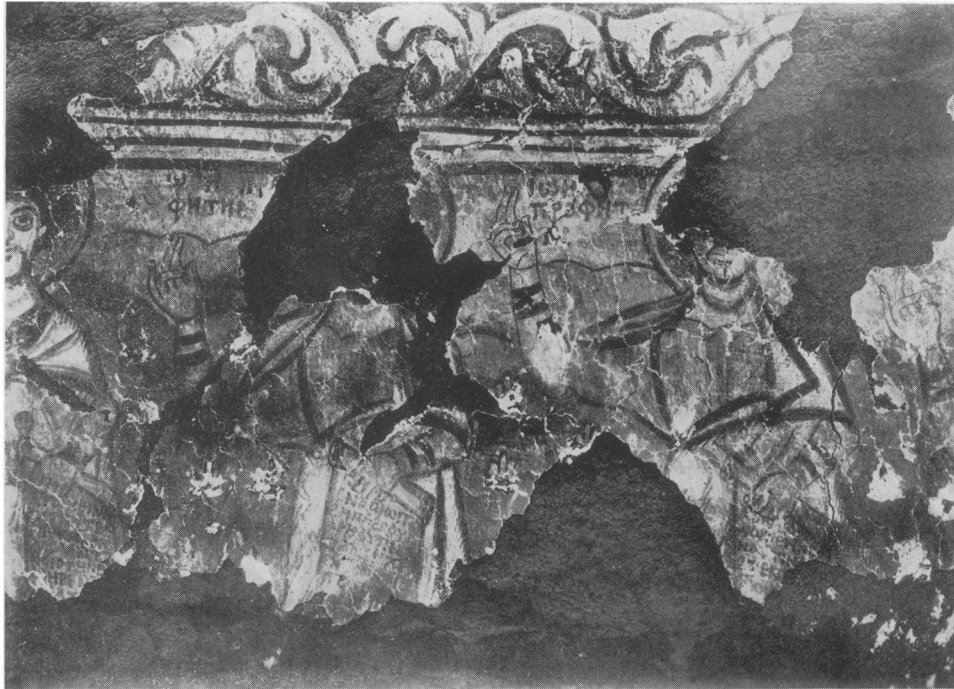
25. DETAIL OF FIG. 24



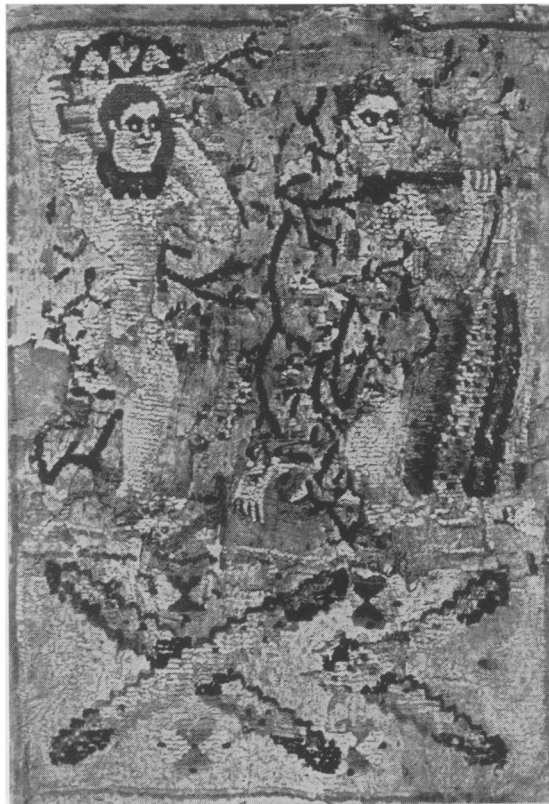
26. COPTIC TAPESTRY. MAINZ,
RÖMISCH-GERMANISCHES ZENTRAL-
MUSEUM NO. 226



27. SILK FROM ANTINOË. BERLIN, KUNSTGE-
WERBEMUSEUM NO. 312/96



28. FRESCO. BAWIT, CHAPEL NO. XII



29. TAPESTRY FROM EGYPT. BERLIN, KAISER
FRIEDRICH MUSEUM NO. 9237



30. TAPESTRY. DUMBARTON OAKS NO. 39.13. DETAIL



31. "CHALE DE SABINE" FROM ANTINOË. PARIS, MUSÉE GUIMET NO. 1230. DETAIL



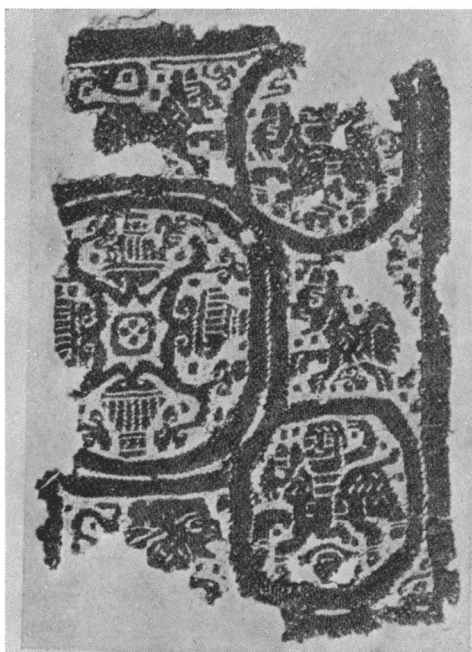
32. TAPESTRY WITH BATTLE SCENE, FROM ANTINOË. LYONS, MUSÉE DES TISSUS NO. 243. DETAIL



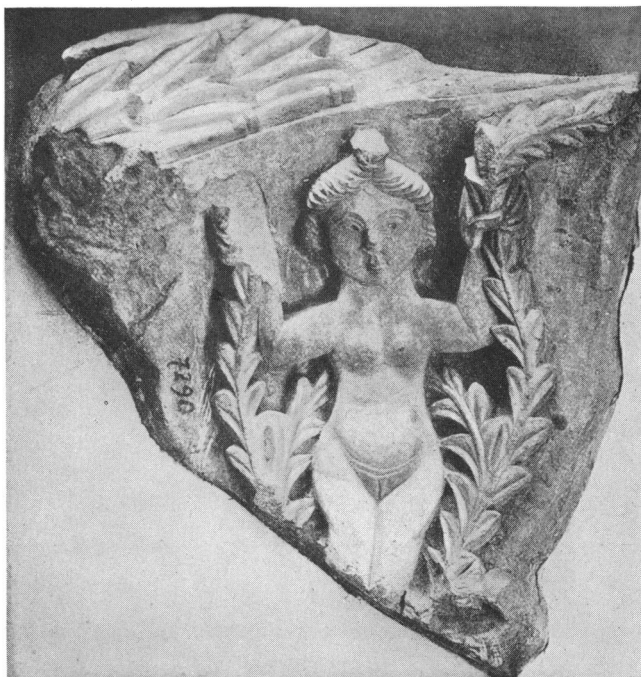
33. TAPESTRY FROM AKHMÎM. LONDON, VICTORIA AND
ALBERT MUSEUM NO. 68



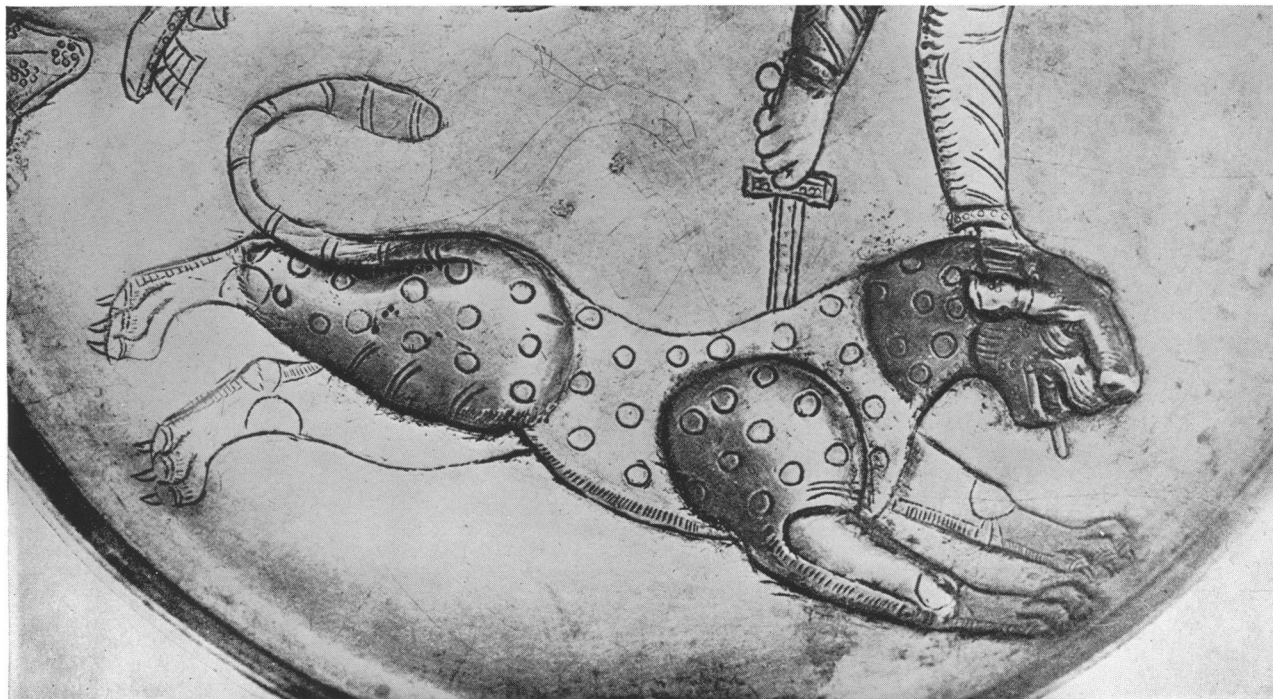
34. TAPESTRY FROM EGYPT. LONDON, VICTORIA AND
ALBERT MUSEUM NO. 71



35. TAPESTRY FROM AKHMÎM. BRUSSELS,
MUSÉES ROYAUX DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS
NO. 319



36. COPTIC STONE-CARVING. CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM
NO. 7290



37. SASSANIAN SILVER PLATE. LENINGRAD. HERMITAGE MUSEUM. DETAIL



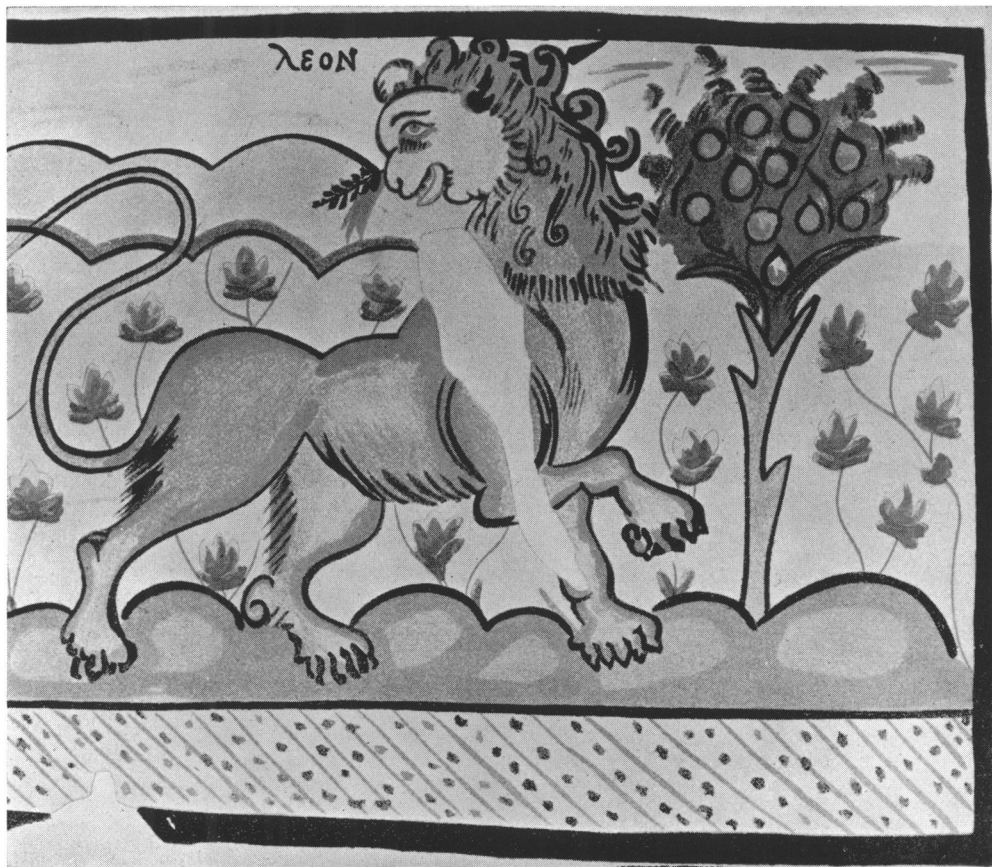
38. SASSANIAN STUCCO RELIEF. BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM



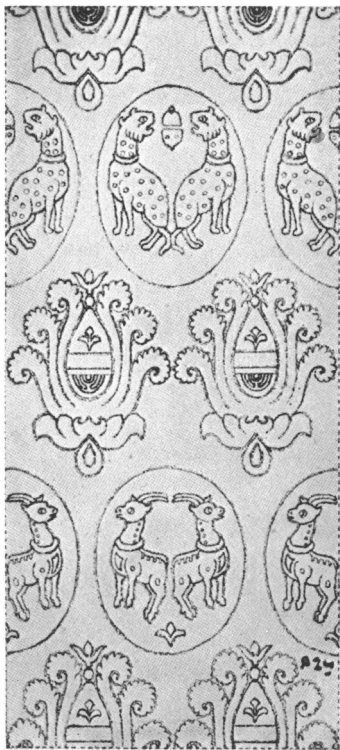
39. DETAIL FROM GARMENT OF MOUNTED FIGURE OF A KING. TAQ-I-BUSTAN



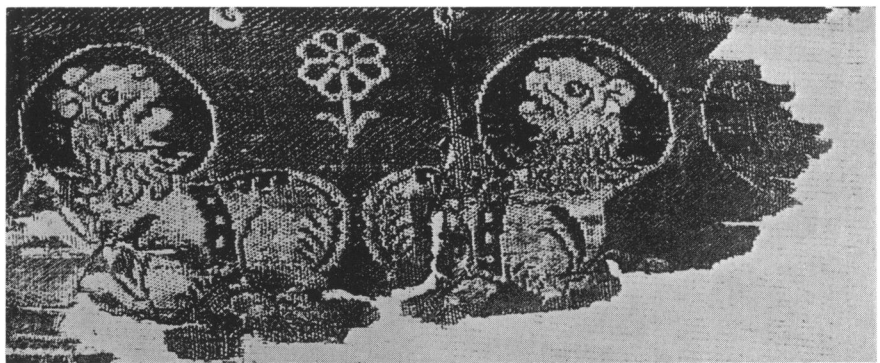
40. TAPESTRY. DUMBARTON OAKS NO. 39.13. DETAIL



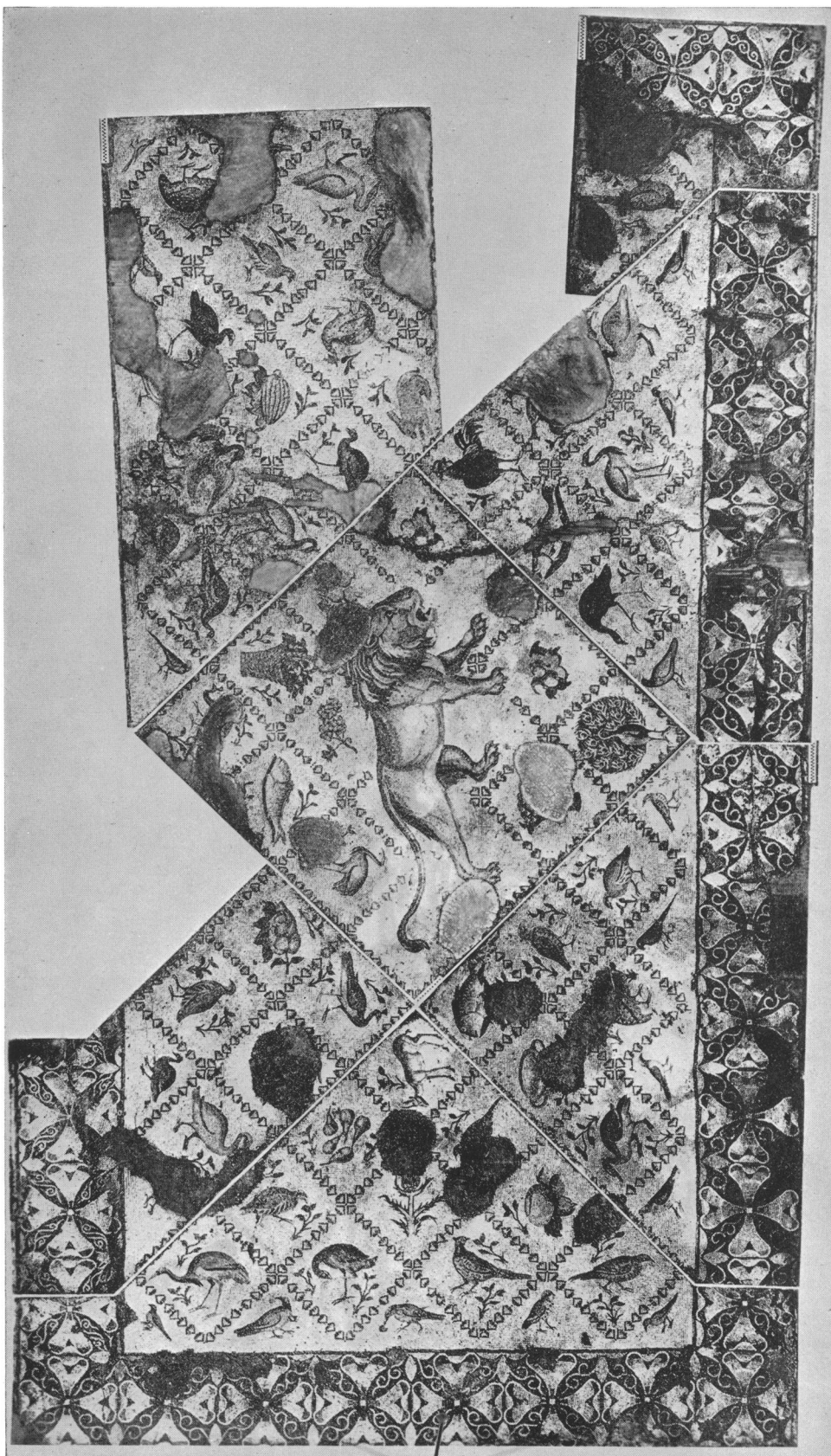
41. FRESCO. BAWIT, CHAPEL NO. XII. DETAIL



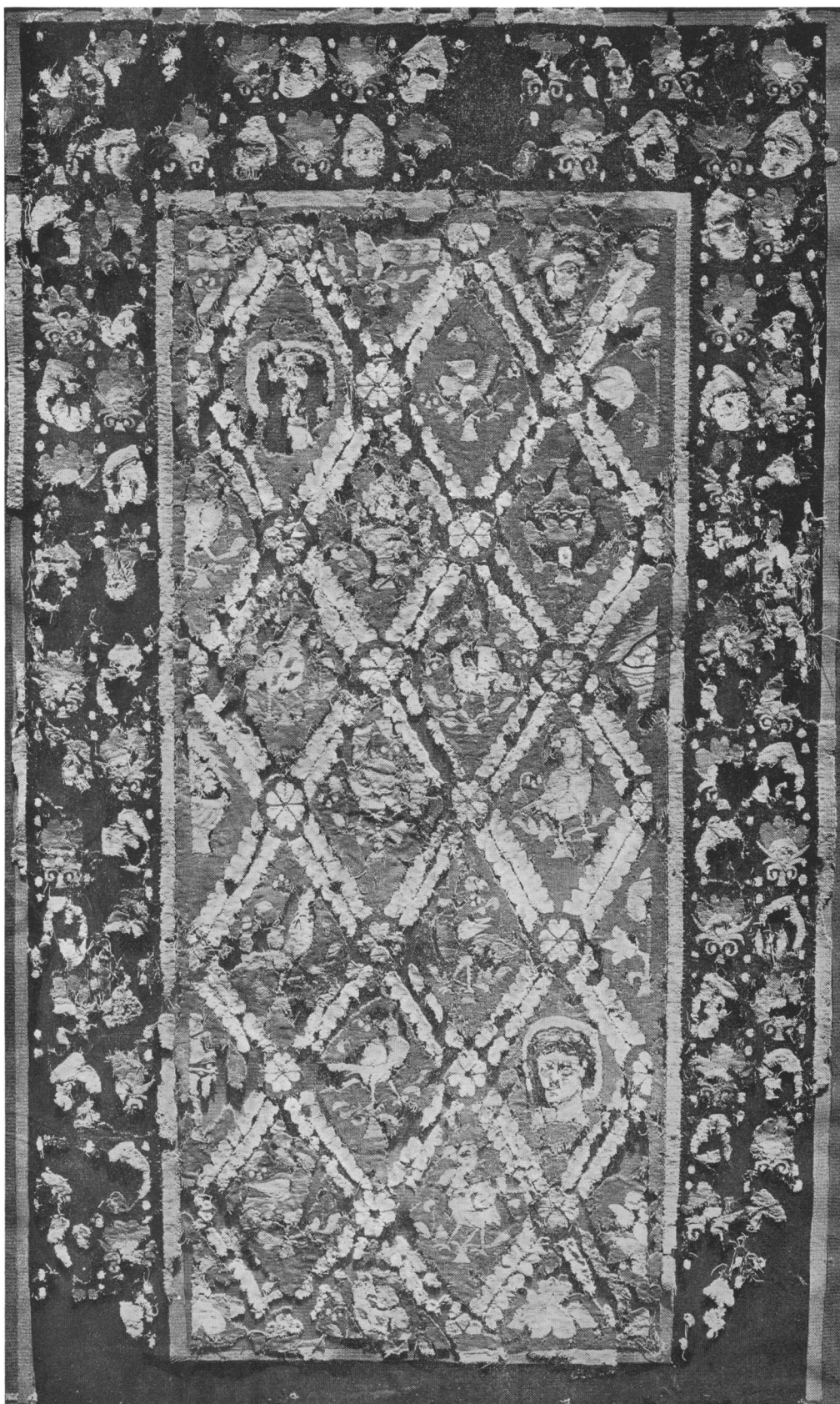
42. SILK FROM ANTINOË. LONDON,
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM
NO. 829



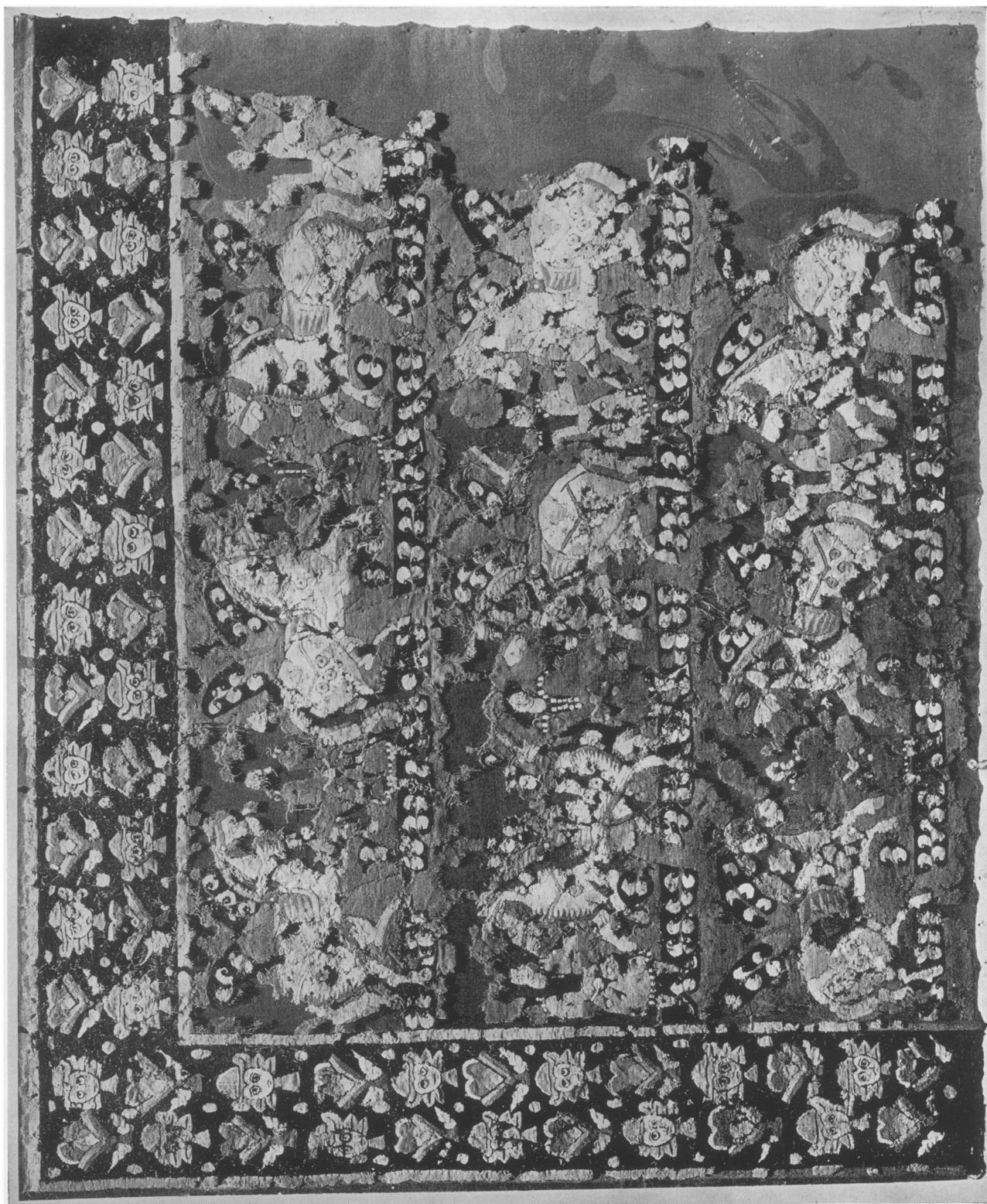
43. SILK FROM ANTINOË. LYONS, MUSÉE DES TISSUS



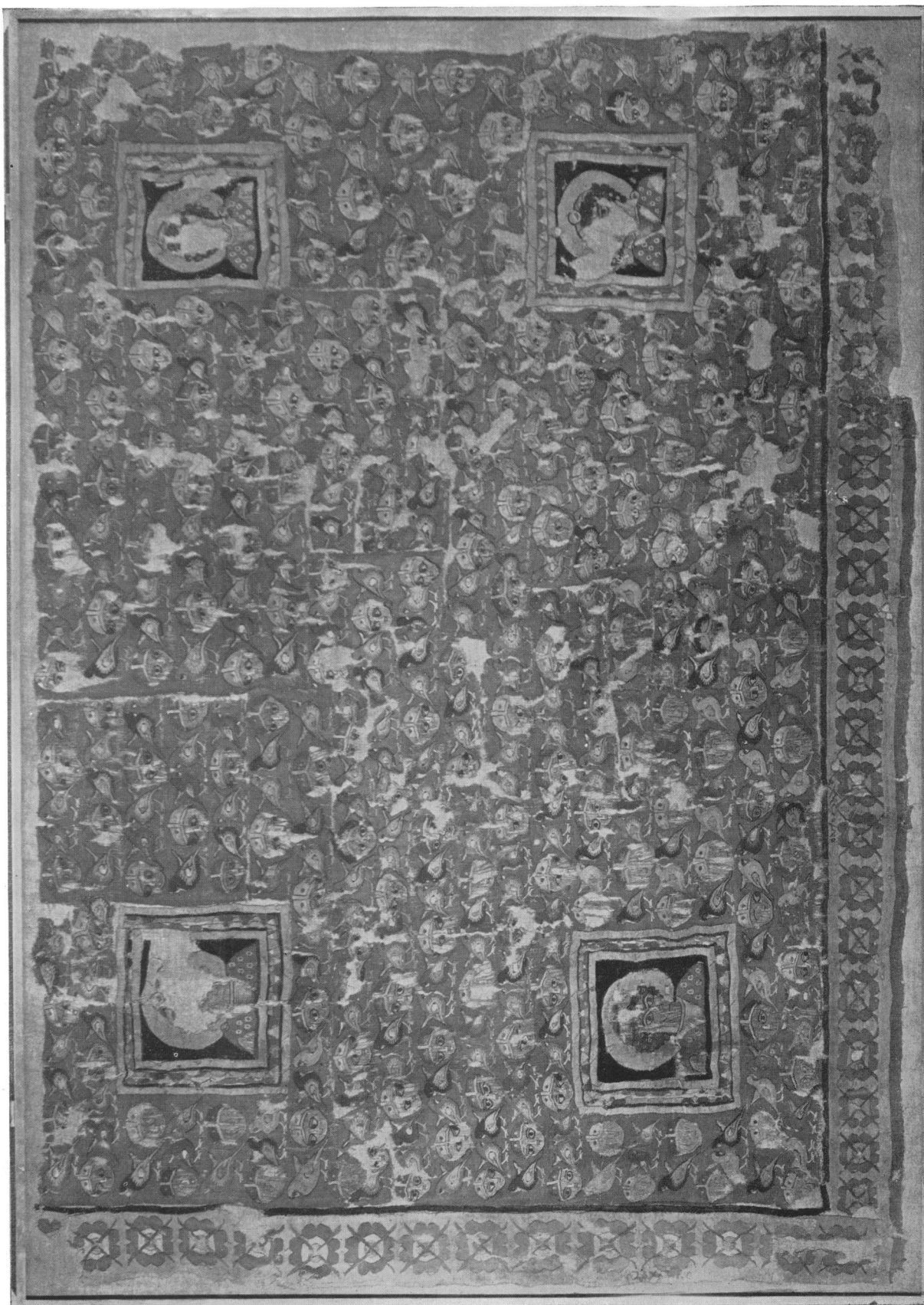
44. MOSAIC PAVEMENT FROM ANTIOCH. BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART



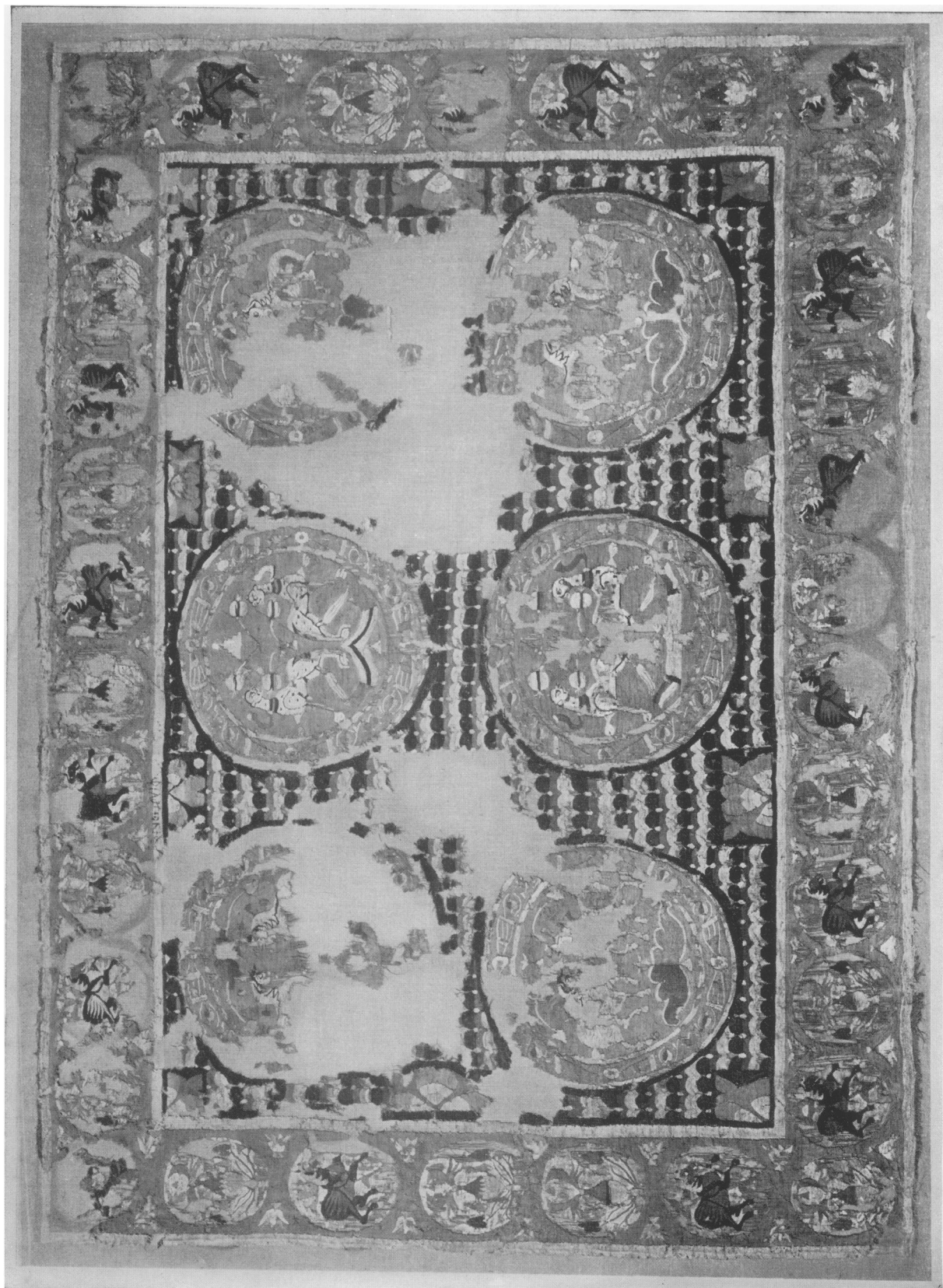
45. TAPESTRY. TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., NO. 71.33



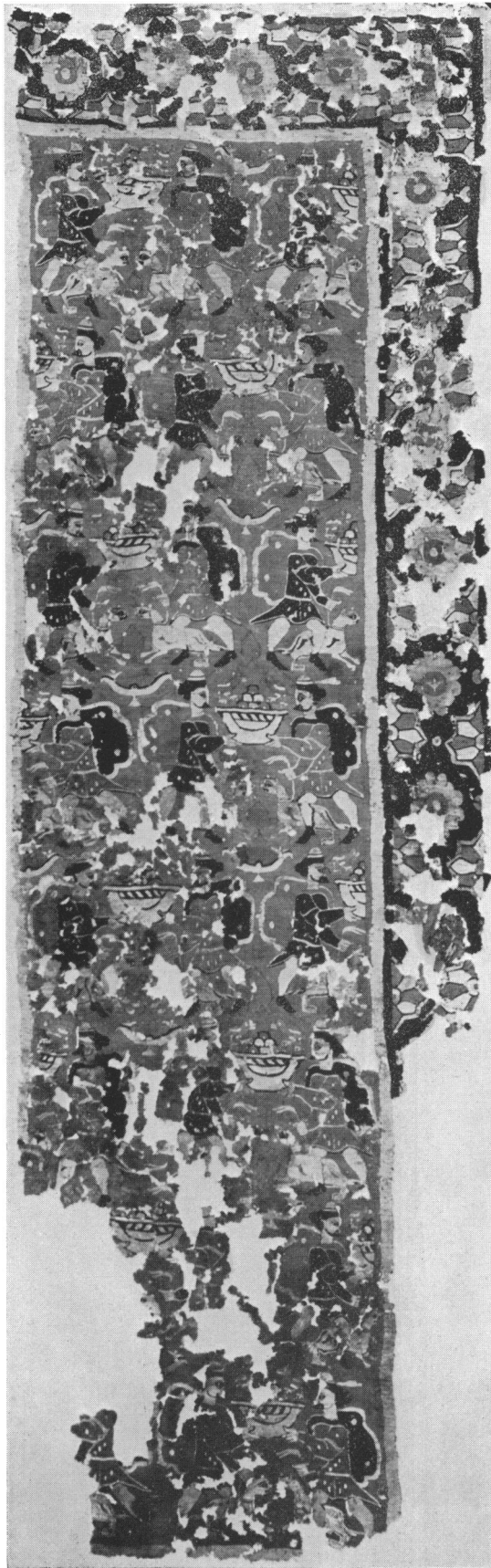
46. TAPESTRY. TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WASHINGTON, D. C., NO. 71.14



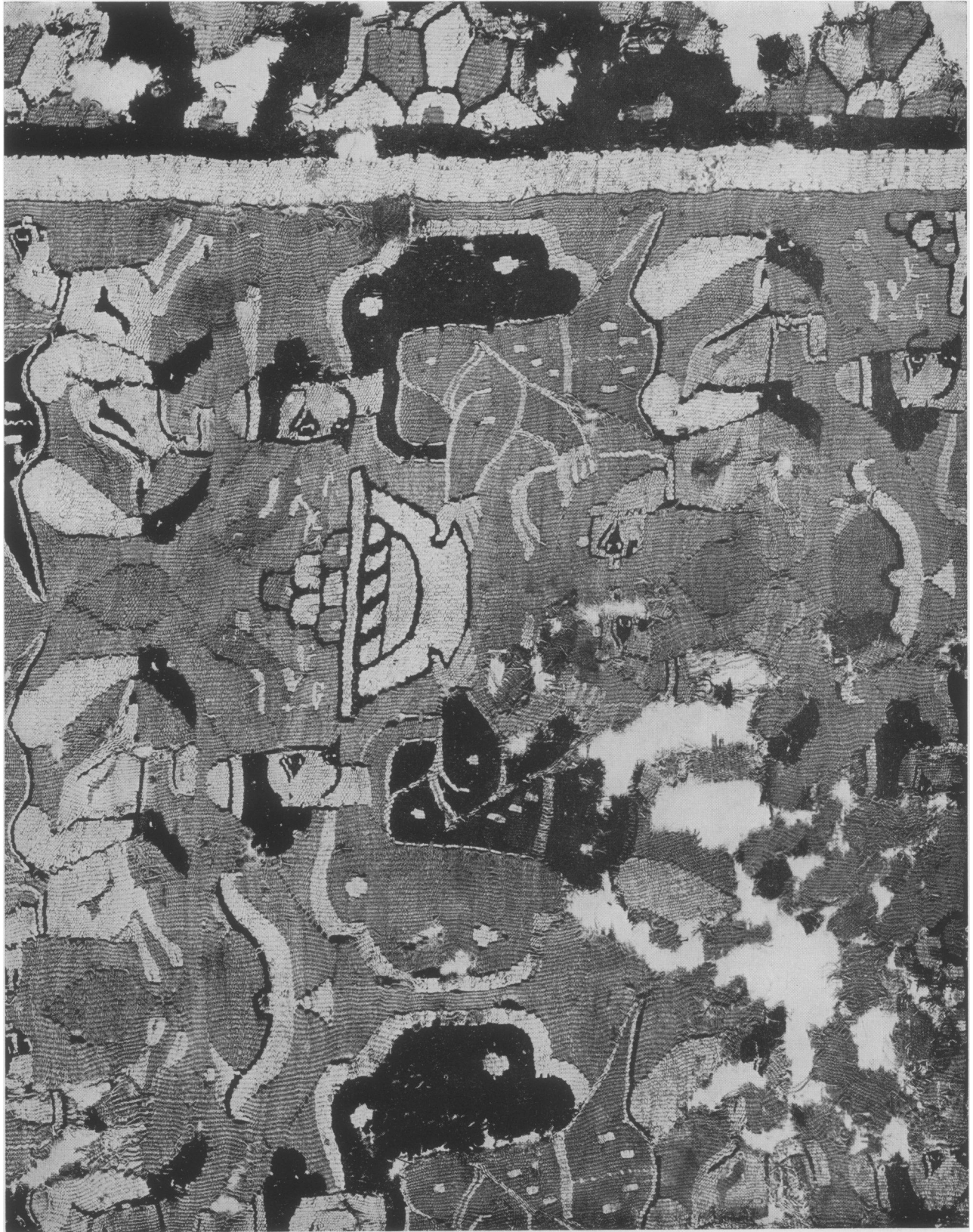
47. TAPESTRY. WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY, KANSAS CITY, NO. 35.2



48. TAPESTRY. TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WASHINGTON, D. C., NO. 71.51



49. TAPESTRY. BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS NO. 28.18



50. DETAIL OF TAPESTRY SHOWN IN FIG. 49

APPENDIX

LIST OF EARLY BYZANTINE ANIMAL AND BIRD CAPITALS

PREFATORY NOTE

The list makes no claim to completeness, either in the number of pieces included or in the literature quoted. The main purpose of giving several references for one and the same capital is to establish the identity of pieces which have been published repeatedly and in widely scattered places.

The list has been compiled with a view toward corroborating, on the basis of a fairly large material, the conclusions arrived at in the text (pp. 17–19). For this reason the capitals have been classified with regard to the absence or presence of a horizontal division (Type I and II respectively), and only those pieces which do not conform with the rules we believe to have established for the arrangement of the animals and birds in these two classes have been singled out as exceptions (under “b” in each category). The differences in the decoration of the lower part of the capitals have not been taken into account, but in the case of Type I, where a row of acanthus leaves of the “Theodosian” (i.e. “feingezahnter”) type is the rule, all the pieces which show this decoration have been marked with an asterisk (*).

Within every type-group the material has been arranged by regions, and it may be seen at a glance that Type I is most frequent in the Constantinopolitan area (the term taken in its widest sense),¹ while Type II — rare in the Metropolitan sphere² — is more heavily concentrated in the Adriatic region.³ Egypt itself has two certain examples of Type I⁴ as against at least five of Type II.⁵

Pieces of which no satisfactory reproductions are available to me have not been classified according to type, even in cases where the descriptions give certain hints regarding their appearance. They have been added in supplements at the end of the “animal” and “bird” sections.

Early Christian animal capitals have sometimes been imitated by medieval craftsmen, and certain pieces which appear in the literature on Early Christian animal capitals are actually of Romanesque origin.⁶ It is perhaps

¹ Nos. 1–16; 29, 30; 59–66; 73–76.

² Nos. 39, 40; 77–80; 91.

³ Nos. 34–38; 82–85; 92.

⁴ Nos. 17, 18.

⁵ Nos. 32, 33; 41, 42; 81.

⁶ For two capitals in Verona quoted by Von Alten (p. 82) and Brehier (p. 34) see W. Arslan, *L'Architettura Romanica Veronese*, 1939, pls. 39–41. A capital in S. Marco in Venice (Brehier pl. I, 1; Cabrol III 1 fig. 2512) is of the same type.

significant that, as far as the animal protomes are concerned, some at least of these copies do not conform exactly with either of our two types. I have doubts whether all the capitals included in the present list are really Early Christian,⁷ and several of them have actually been referred to as medieval by previous writers. To define the manner and extent of the work of medieval — and perhaps even later — copyists, especially in Northern Italy, would, however, require a special study, and it has seemed preferable, for the time being, not to exclude from the list pieces of doubtful date.

REFERENCES FREQUENTLY USED

- Brehier = L. Brehier, "Etudes sur l'histoire de la Sculpture Byzantine," in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires* XX, N. S. Fasc. 3 1911, p. 19 ff.
 Bull. Arch. = H. Saladin, "Note sur un chapiteau trouvé près de Sousse," in *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 1901, pp. 438-443.
 Cabrol = F. Cabrol — H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*.
 Colasanti = A. Colasanti, *L'Art Byzantin en Italie* (no date).
 Grueneisen = W. de Grueneisen, *Les Caractéristiques de l'Art Copte* (1922).
 JOAI = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*, vols. 24, 1929; 28, 1933 (for Stobi).
 Kautzsch = R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (1936).
 Lemerle = P. Lemerle, "Chapiteaux Chrétiens à protomes de béliers," in *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1937 pp. 292 ff.
 Mendel = G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans, Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines* (1914).
 Ongania = F. Ongania, *La Basilica di San Marco*, V (1881).
 Ricci = C. Ricci, "L'Antico Duomo di Ravenna," in *Felix Ravenna* N. S. II, 1931 p. 7 ff.
 Von Alten = W. von Alten, *Geschichte des Altchristlichen Kapitells* (no date).

EARLY BYZANTINE ANIMAL AND BIRD CAPITALS

A. ANIMAL CAPITALS

I. TYPE I (i.e. without horizontal division)

a. Regular type (i.e. with animals back to back)

Constantinople (including Balkans, Black Sea and Asia Minor)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>*1. Athos (Ivion)
 (fig. 51)</p> <p>*2. Chersonnese (Church excavated by Count Uvarov)</p> | <p>Ch. Diehl, <i>Manuel d'Art Byzantin</i> (1910), p. 728, fig. 369 = 2nd ed. (1926), p. 785, fig. 389
 Lemerle, fig. 2.</p> <p>A. Bertier-Delagarde, in <i>Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de la Russie</i>, XII (1893), p. 25.
 <i>Revue Archéologique</i>, 1899, II, p. 228.
 Cabrol, III 2 (1914), col. 3038, fig. 3350.</p> |
|---|--|

⁷ E.g., no. 35.

- *3. Chersonnese (another church) I. Tolstoi and N. P. Kondakov, *Russkia Drevnosti*, IV (1891), p. 21, fig. 18.
- *4. Constantinople (Museum no. 744) Proven. Cple (fig. 52) Brehier, pl. I, 2.
Mendel, no. 744.
Kautzsch, no. 499 p. 158 and pl. 30.
- 5. Constantinople (Museum no. 750) Proven. Cple (figs. 15, 53) *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1912, col. 586 f. no. 19 (no fig.).
Mendel, no. 750.
E. Mamboury and Th. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (1934), pl. 113 and p. 50.
Kautzsch, no. 484 p. 155.
- *6. Constantinople (Museum no. 1210) Proven. Cple? (fig. 54) Mendel, no. 1210.
Kautzsch, no. 496 p. 157 and pl. 30.
- *7. Constantinople (Museum no. 1211) Proven. Cple? (fig. 55) Mendel, no. 1211.
Kautzsch, no. 490 p. 156 and pl. 30.
- 8. Constantinople (Museum no. 1212) Proven. Cple (fig. 56) Mendel, no. 1212.
Kautzsch, no. 508 p. 160 and pl. 31.
- 9. Constantinople (Museum no. 1213) Proven. Cple Mendel, no. 1213.
Kautzsch, no. 509 p. 160.
- *10. Constantinople, Mengene sokaghy (mutilated) P. Forchheimer and J. Strzygowski, *Die Byzantinischen Wasserbehälter* (1893), pl. facing p. 87 fig. 5.
Kautzsch, no. 489 p. 156.
- *11. Kosjask (now Sofia Museum) *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher I*, 1920, p. 24.
- *12. Nea Anchialos, Basilica A (2 capitals, fragments) (fig. 57) *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1929, figs. 61-64 and pp. 59 ff.
Kautzsch, no. 501 p. 158 and pl. 31.
- *13. Salonika, H. Dimitrios, Nave (3 capitals) (fig. 58) *Archaiologikon Deltion IV*, 1918, Parartema pl. 17 fig. 11 d.
Kautzsch, no. 495 p. 157.
Lemerle, fig. 1 (a modern replica).
- *14. Salonika, St. Gregory Palamas (now Athens Byz. Museum) (fig. 59) G. A. Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes* (1932), fig. 6 B.
Kautzsch, no. 502 p. 158 (identical?).⁸
- *15. Sikyon (fig. 60) *Praktika tes Archaiologikes Hetairias*, 1933, p. 84 fig. 4.
Lemerle, fig. 3.
- *16. Vodena (fig. 61) *Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, Izvestia*, IV (1899), pt. 1, p. 35 fig. 6.
Kautzsch, no. 492 p. 157.

⁸ On a photograph in the portfolio "Musée Byzantin d'Athènes, Sculptures" (Editeurs G.

Egypt and North Africa

- *17. Alexandria, Museum (fig. 62) Kautzsch, no. 494 p. 157 and pl. 30.
- 18. Cairo, Coptic Mus. no. 6 (fig. 63) *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* V p. 74 and pl. II (shape unusual).
- *19. Cairouan, Mosque of Sidi Okba (several capitals) H. Saladin, "La Mosquée de Sidi Okba à Kairouan," in P. Gauckler and B. Roy, *Les monuments Historiques de la Tunisie* II (1899), p. 71 fig. 39.
- *20. Carthage, Damous-el-Karita (several capitals) (figs. 64, 65) *Bulletin Monumental* 76, 1912, pp. 420, 422 (figures).
Kautzsch, no. 493 p. 157.
- *21. Sousse, Museum, Proven. Bou Fichta (figs. 66, 67) *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 438 ff. and pl. 32.
P. Gauckler and E. Gouvet, *Musées de Sousse* (1902), pl. 16 and p. 397.

Italy and Adriatic

- *22. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile (formerly in S. Apollinare in Classe) (figs. 16, 68) *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 439 fig. 2.
Brehier, p. 34 and pl. II, 1.
Colasanti, pl. 47 bottom right.
Ch. Diehl, *Ravenne* (1928), p. 102.
Ricci, p. 22 top.
Kautzsch, no. 491 p. 157; p. 153 n. 4.
- *23. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile (formerly Mantua S. Andrea) (fig. 69) Ricci, p. 22 bottom.
Kautzsch, p. 153 n. 4.

Provenance Unknown

- *24. Venice, S. Marco Ongania, V, pl. 52 no. 81 right.
- *25. Venice, S. Marco (fig. 70) Ongania, V, pl. 62 no. 97.
- 26. Venice, S. Marco (Leaves cut away) Ongania, V, pl. 65 no. 102.
- *27. Venice, S. Marco (fig. 71) Ongania, V, pl. 66 no. 105.
- *28. Venice, S. Marco Ongania, V, pl. 70 no. 112.

b. Exceptions (i.e. animals not in normal arrangement)

Constantinople etc.

- 29. Korykos, "Cathedral" (fig. 72) E. Herzfeld-S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (1930), p. 100 fig. 92.
Kautzsch, no. 269 p. 93.
- *30. Stobi, Episcopal Church (fig. 73) *Starinar*, 1935/36, p. 164 f., figs. 31-33.

Tsimas & P. Papahadjidakis) 3 capitals are reproduced all of similar type; the lower one is identical with the capital illustrated by Sotiriou. See our fig. 59.

II. TYPE II (i.e. with horizontal division)

a. *Regular type (i.e. with short animal busts far apart)*

Syria and Palestine

31. Kasr ibn Wardan, Probably 561–564 A.D. (fig. 74) H. C. Butler, *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905* (1908), Div. II, Sec. B p. 33 f. figs. 29, 30 (for date cf. *ibid.* p. 27).

Egypt and North Africa

32. Cairo, Museum no. 7345 (fig. 75) J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (1904), p. 71 fig. 97.
Cabrol, II 2, 1910, fig. 1850.
O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (1911), p. 33 fig. 18.
Bulletin Monumental, 1911, pl. III, p. 207.
Kautzsch no. 533 p. 165.
33. Cairo (now Berlin KFM) (fig. 76) O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Bildwerke I* (1909), p. 314 no. 1656.
G. Duthuit, *La Sculpture Copte* (1931), pl. 49a.
H. Peirce–R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin II* (1934), pl. 177e.
Note: Date not earlier than Justinian because of cruciform monogram.⁹

Italy and Adriatic

34. Parenzo, Cathedral, Nave 543–553 A.D. (fig. 77) W. A. Neumann, *Der Dom von Parenzo* (1902), pls. 24, 36.
C. Errard–A. Gayet, *L'Art Byzantin II*, pl. VI, 4.
Grueneisen, pl. 58, 3.
Kautzsch, no. 519 p. 162.
35. Parenzo, Cathedral Canopy (fig. 78) W. A. Neumann, *Der Dom von Parenzo* (1902), pls. 14, 15, 26, 28 and p. 19.
Bulletin Monumental, 1911, p. 208 fig. 6 and p. 210 n.
Kautzsch, no. 519 p. 162.
36. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile (figs. 17, 79) *Oriens Christianus*, 1912, pl. V, 6.
Cabrol, III 1, 1913, fig. 2515.
Von Alten, pl. VII 2.
Ricci, p. 21.
Kautzsch, no. 518 p. 162; p. 153 n. 4.
37. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile (formerly Museo Nazionale) (fig. 80) Cabrol, III 1, 1913, fig. 2514.
Brehier, pl. III 2.
Grueneisen, pl. 58, 5.
Ricci, p. 19.
Kautzsch, no. 518 p. 162; p. 153 n. 4.

⁹ Cf. E. Weigand, in: *Byzantion* VI, 1931 p. 412; *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts* 52, 1937 p. 129 f.

38. Salona, Baptistery (now W. Gerber, *Forschungen in Salona*, I (1912), p. 55 f. and figs. 124/5.
Split, Museum) Ricci, p. 24 (with further references).
(figs. 81, 82) G. Kowalczyk, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Dalmatien*, I, pl. 53.
M. Abramich, in *L'Art Byzantin chez les Slaves*, 2me Recueil, 2me partie, 1932, p. 318 f. and pl. 48.
Kautzsch, no. 517 p. 162 and pl. 32.

b. Exceptions (i.e. with half-length animals)

Constantinople (including Balkans, Black Sea and Asia Minor)

39. Athos, Lavra O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*
(fig. 83) (1911), p. 175 fig. 103.
Kautzsch, no. 516 p. 162.
Lemerle, p. 295.
40. Philippi Lemerle, pl. I.
(figs. 84, 85)

Egypt and North Africa

41. Bawit, S. Church (now E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouit* (1911), pl. 39.
Louvre) Cabrol, II 1, 1910, fig. 1269.
(figs. 18, 86)
42. Tebtunis, Kom-el-Boreigat E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*
(now Alexandria Museum no. 22282) 1925-1931 (1932), pl. 38 no. 136 and p. 62.
(fig. 87) Kautzsch, no. 534 p. 165 and pl. 32.

Provenance Unknown

43. Arles, Museum E. Espérandieu, *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs*
(fig. 88) . . . de la Gaule Romaine, IX (1925) p. 110
no. 6724.
Bulletin Monumental, 1938, p. 138.
44. Venice, S. Marco Ongania, V, pl. 65 no. 103.
(fig. 89) *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 439 fig. 1.
Brehier, pl. III 1 and p. 37.
Oriens Christianus, 1912, pl. V 5.
Colasanti, pl. 60 bottom left.

SUPPLEMENT: Type undetermined

Constantinople etc.

45. Constantinople, Museum Kautzsch, no. 485 p. 155.
nos. 3902/3
46. Constantinople, Museum Kautzsch, no. 500 p. 158. (Type I ?)
no. 3915
47. Constantinople, Museum Kautzsch, no. 486 p. 156. (Type I ?)
no. 3917
48. Kalyvia, Hagios Taxiarchis Kautzsch, no. 510 p. 160. (Type I ?)

49. Sofia, Museum (Proven. Sofia) *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, I, 1920 p. 24 n. 2.
- Syria and Palestine
50. Jerusalem, Aksa Mosque (2 capitals, upper part subsequently transformed) Grueneisen, pl. 56, 3. Kautzsch, nos. 503/4 p. 158. (Type I ?)
51. Jerusalem, Haram-esh-Sharif, S.W. corner Kautzsch, no. 498 p. 158. (Type I ?)
- Egypt and North Africa
52. Cairo, Azhar Mosque Kautzsch, no. 487 p. 156.
53. Cairo, El-Mardani Mosque Kautzsch, no. 488 p. 156.
54. Cairo, Azhar Mosque Kautzsch, no. 531 p. 165. (Type II ?)
55. Cairo, Arab Museum Kautzsch, no. 532 p. 165. (Type II ?)
56. Cairouan, Mosquée des Trois Portes *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 440 fig. 3. (Type I ?)
57. Djama Zitouna, Tunis (Upper part coated with lime) *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 440 (no figure).
- Italy and Adriatic
58. Grado, Sta. Maria Kautzsch, no. 520 p. 162. (Type II ?)

B. BIRD CAPITALS¹⁰

I. TYPE I (i.e. without horizontal division)

a. Regular type (i.e. with birds back to back)

Constantinople (including Balkans, Black Sea and Asia Minor)

- *59. Constantinople, Museum no. 742 (Proven. Cple) (fig. 90) Brehier, pl. II, 2 and p. 35. Mendel, no. 742. Kautzsch, no. 478 p. 154 and pl. 30.
60. Constantinople, Museum no. 743 (Proven. ?) (fig. 91) Mendel, no. 743. Kautzsch, no. 512 p. 160 f. and pl. 31.
- *61. Constantinople (Now Berlin KFM) (fig. 92) O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, I, 1909 no. 161 p. 54. Kautzsch, no. 481 p. 154.
- *62. Constantinople, near Imperial Palace (fig. 93) E. Mamboury-Th. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (1934), pl. 27 right. Kautzsch, no. 482 p. 155.

¹⁰ Not included are (1) Capitals with small eagles, etc. decorating the abacus (e.g. Kautzsch p. 30); (2) Capitals of the "Golden Gate" type; for these see Kautzsch pp. 121-125 and Ongania V no. 15 pl. 11, no. 144 pl. 102; (3) Odd capitals such as those in Henchir-el-Begueur (*Bull. Arch.* 1907 pl. XLI), in the City of St. Menas (K. M. Kauffmann, *Die Menasstadt*, 1910, pl. 66), in Brussa (from Nicaea; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 33, 1909 no. 123 p. 362 f. and fig. 68), and the impost of the Column of Marcianus.

- *63. Constantinople, House
near Brachionion
(fig. 94) Kautzsch, no. 477 p. 153 and pl. 30.
- *64. Konia, Museum
(fig. 95) Kautzsch, no. 514 p. 161 and pl. 31.
- *65. Salonika, H. Dimitrios
Nave (2 capitals)
(fig. 96) Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* (1910), p. 133
fig. 61.
Cabrol, III 1, 1913, fig. 2513.
Ch. Diehl-M. Le Tourneau-H. Saladin, *Les
Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique* (1918),
pl. 20 right.
O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (1925), pl. 33
right.
Kautzsch, nos. 479, 480 p. 154.
66. Stobi, Episcopal Church
(Now Skoplje Museum)
(fig. 97) JOAI, 28 (1933), p. 125 fig. 57.
- France
67. Luchon (?from Muret)
now New York, G. Grey
Barnard Collection, 12
capitals
(fig. 98) M. Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Col-
lection* (privately printed by the Robinson Gal-
leries 1941), p. 2 nos. 1-12, pls. 1, 2.
- Provenance Unknown
68. Milan, Museo Archeolo-
gico *Oriens Christianus*, 1912, pl. V 1.
Grueneisen, p. 152 (no figure).
- *69. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 99) Ongania, V, pl. 18 no. 27.
- *70. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 100) Ongania, V, pl. 71 no. 115.
- *71. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 101) Ongania, V, pl. 73 no. 118.
- *72. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 102) Ongania, V, pl. 94 no. 131.
- b. Exceptions (i.e. birds not in normal arrangement)*
- Constantinople etc.
- *73. Salonika, H. Dimitrios
Pilaster
(fig. 103) Ch. Diehl-M. Le Tourneau-H. Saladin, *Les
Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique* (1918),
pl. 26.
Kautzsch, no. 506 p. 159 and pl. 31.
- *74. Stobi, Episcopal Church
(fig. 104) JOAI 24, 1929 p. 49 fig. 32.
Kautzsch, no. 505 p. 159.
- *75. Stobi, Episcopal Church
(fig. 105) P. Clemen, *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, II (1919),
pp. 159, 163.
JOAI 24, 1929 p. 50 fig. 33.
Kautzsch, no. 505 p. 159.

<p>82. Otranto, Cathedral, Crypt (Several capitals) (fig. 112)</p>	<p>E. Bertaux, <i>L'Art dans l'Italie Méridionale</i> (1903), p. 75 fig. 14. <i>Oriens Christianus</i>, 1912 pl. V 4. Colasanti, pl. 57.</p>
<p>83. Parenzo, Cathedral, Nave Dated 543–533 A.D. (fig. 113)</p>	<p>W. A. Neumann, <i>Der Dom von Parenzo</i> (1902), pl. 29. C. Errard–A. Gayet, <i>L'Art Byzantin</i>, II pl. VI 3. Colasanti, pl. 52 bottom left.</p>
<p>84. Pola, Museum (fig. 114)</p>	<p><i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>, X, 1930/31 p. 377 fig. 2. Kautzsch, no. 525 p. 164 (Identical).</p>

85. Rome, S. Clemente, Dated 514–523 A.D.
(fig. 115)
- R. Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy* (1896), p. 39.
Bulletin Monumental, 1911, p. 203 fig. 2.
Oriens Christianus, 1912, pl. V 3.
Grueneisen, p. 151.
G. T. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture* (1933), I
fig. 67 and p. 47.
Kautzsch, no. 527 p. 164.

Provenance Unknown

86. Lyons (from Rome?)
4 capitals, reworked in
part
(figs. 116, 117)
- Bulletin Monumental*, 1911, pp. 199 ff.
Oriens Christianus, 1912, pl. V 2.
Grueneisen, pl. 58, 2.
87. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 118)
- Ongania, V, pl. 87 left.
Bulletin Monumental, 1911, p. 206 f. pl. III and
and fig. 5.
88. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 119)
- Ongania, V, no. 81 (left) pl. 52.
89. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 120)
- Ongania, V, no. 120 pl. 74.
90. Venice, S. Marco
(fig. 121)
- Grueneisen, pl. 58, 4.

b. Exceptions (i.e. with birds closer together)

Constantinople etc.

91. Salonika, H. Dimitrios,
Nave
(fig. 122)
- Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* (1910), p. 119
fig. 50.
Ch. Diehl–M. LeTourneau–H. Saladin, *Les Mon-
uments Chrétiens de Salonique* (1918), pl. 24
left.
Archaiologikon Deltion, IV, 1918. Parartema, p.
11 fig. 11β.
Kautzsch, no. 515 p. 162 and pl. 31.

Italy and Adriatic

92. Parenzo, Cathedral Can-
opy
(fig. 123)
- W. A. Neumann, *Der Dom von Parenzo* (1902),
pls. 25, 27.
Bulletin Monumental, 1911, p. 210 n.
O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*
(1911), figs. 20, p. 36.

SUPPLEMENT: Type undetermined

Constantinople etc.

93. Constantinople, Serai
- C. G. Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, I, fig. 13.
94. Salonika, H. Dimitrios
- Kautzsch, no. 528 p. 165. (Erroneous reference
to Sotiriou.) (Type II ?)
95. Stobi, Episcopal Church
(Now Belgrade Mu-
seum)
- Godisnjak of the Royal Serbian Academy*, 1931
p. 222.
JOAI, 28, 1933 p. 125. (Type I ?)

96. Stobi ? (Now Drenovo) B. Filov, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* (Festschrift J. Strzygowski), 1923, p. 35.
JOAI, 28, 1933 p. 125. (Type I ? — Birds and lions)

Egypt and North Africa

97. Cairo, Amr Mosque Kautzsch, no. 507 p. 160.
 98. Cairo, Salih Tala'i Mosque Kautzsch, no. 511 p. 160.
 99. Cairo, Ibn Tulun Mosque Kautzsch, no. 524 p. 164. (Type II ?)
 100. Cairouan, Mosquée du Barbier, Court *Archives des Missions*, 3me Série, XIII, 1887 p. 30.
Bull. Arch., 1901, p. 442.
 Brehier, p. 37. (Type II ?)
 101. Cairouan, Grande Mosquée *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 442 fig. 4. (Type I ?)
 102. Kef, Museum (from Bordj Messaoudi) *Archives des Mission*, 3me Série XIII, 1887 p. 210 fig. 362 no. 4.
Bull. Arch., 1901, p. 441 n. 1. (Type I ?)
 103. Mahdia, Mosque *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 442 (no figure). (Type II ?)
 104. Sfax, Mosque *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 442 (no figure). (Type II ?)
 105. Tunis, Corner Rue Riche & Rue de Tourbet-el-Bey *Bull. Arch.*, 1901, p. 441 (no figure).

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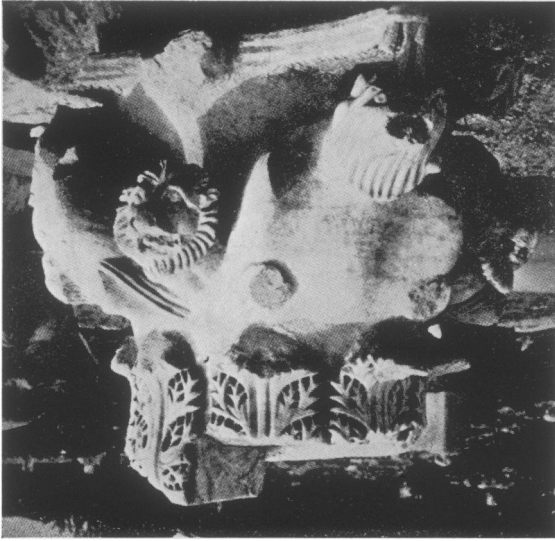
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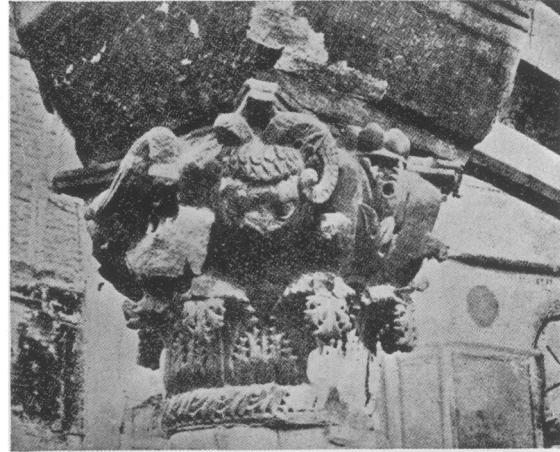
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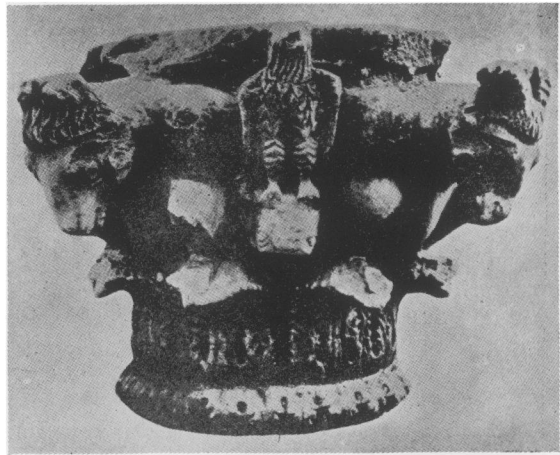
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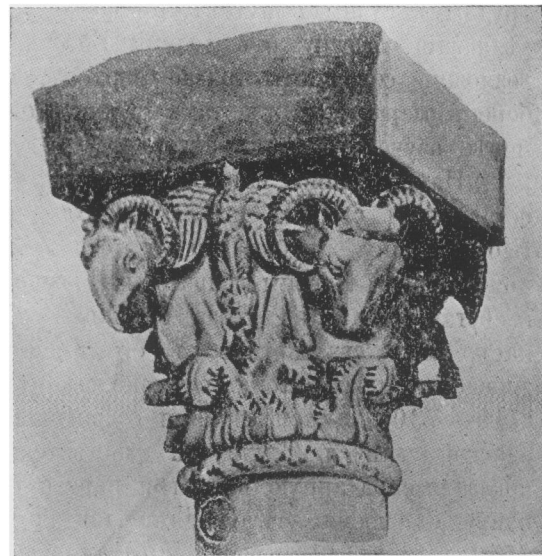
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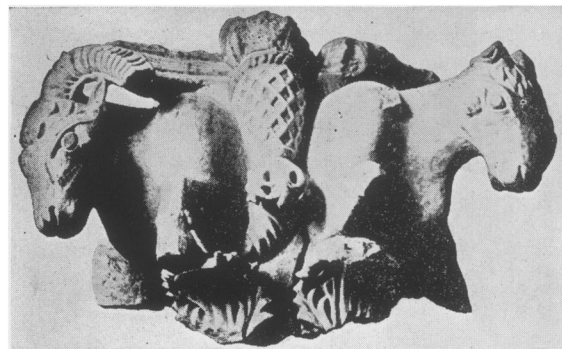
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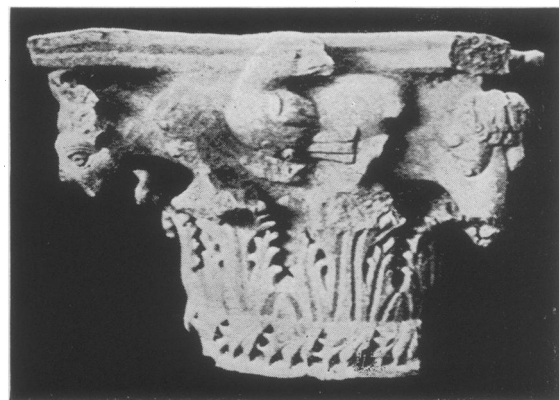
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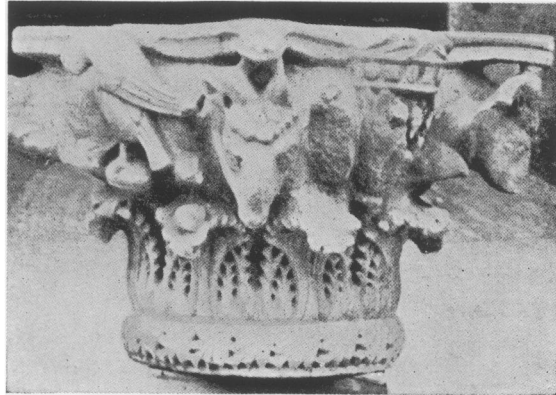
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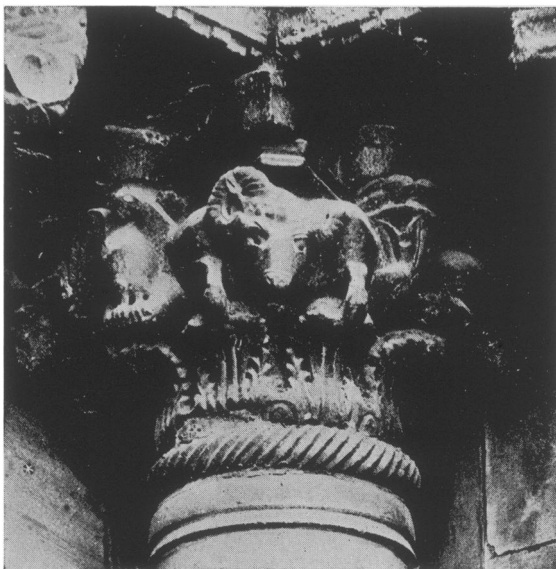
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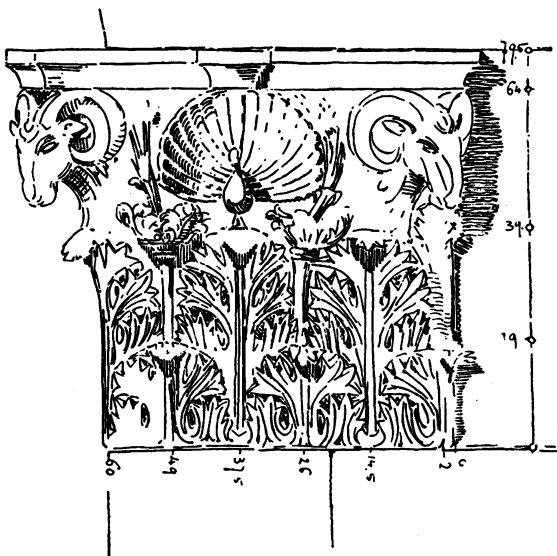
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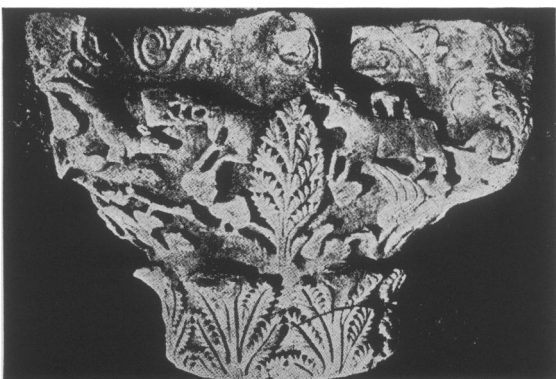
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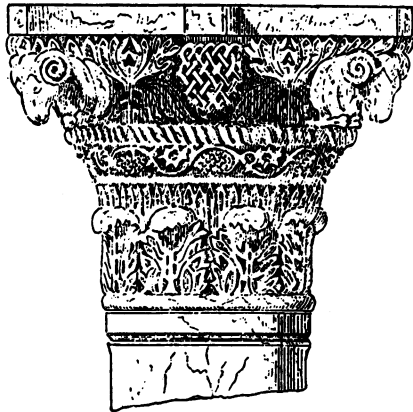
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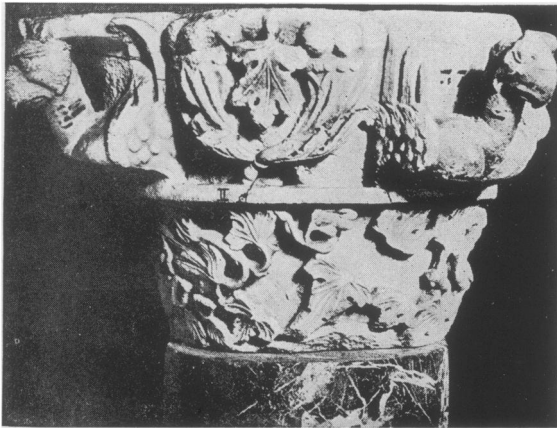
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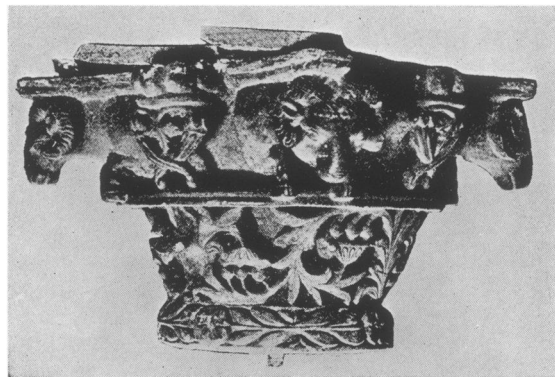
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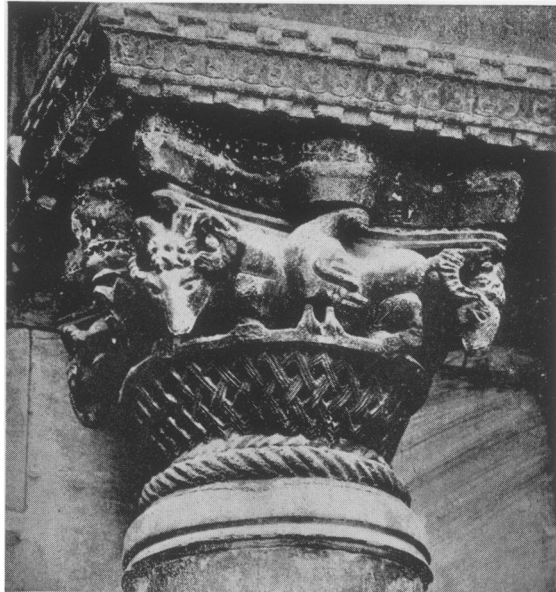
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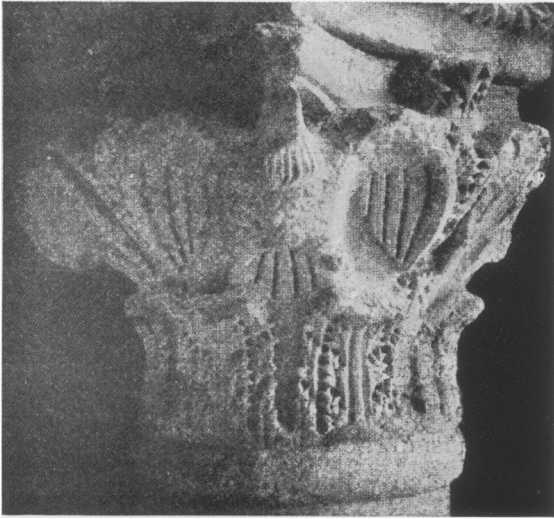
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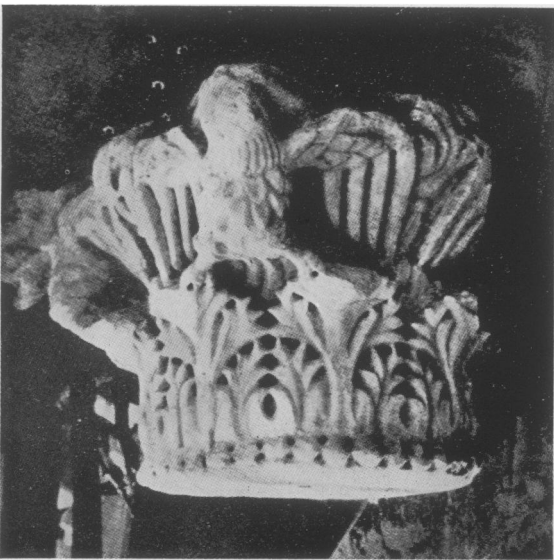
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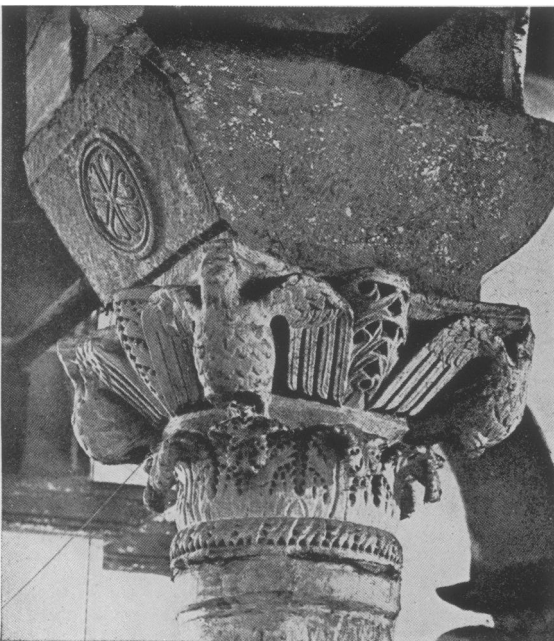
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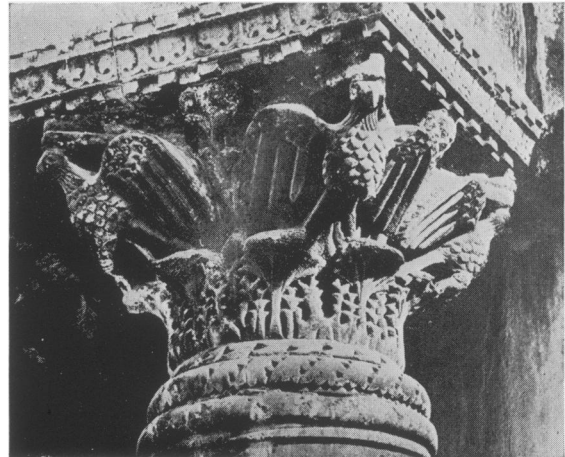
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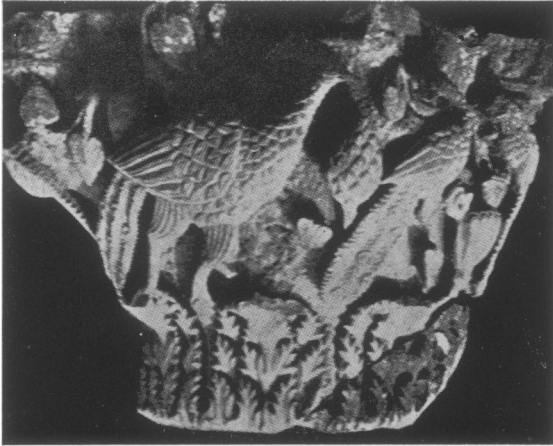
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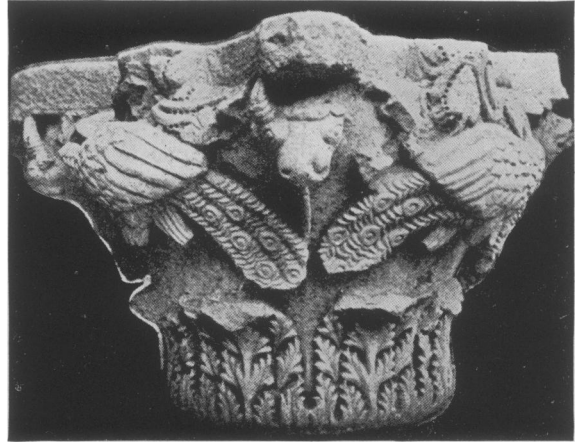
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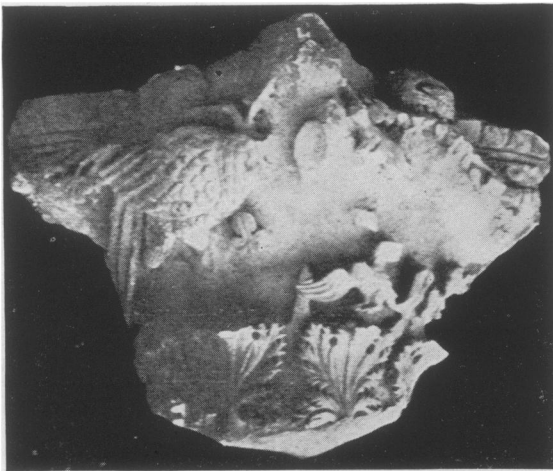
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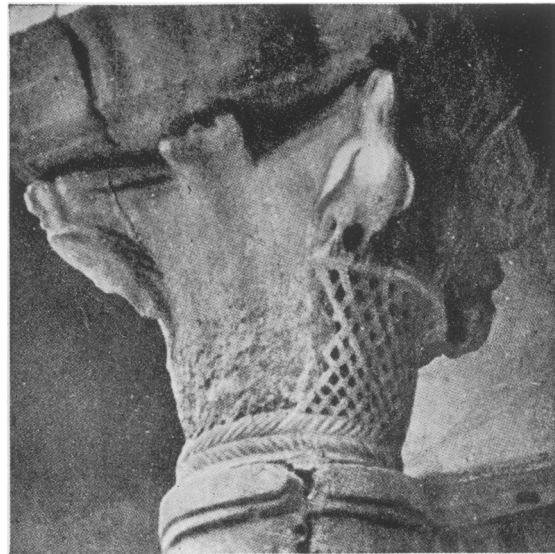
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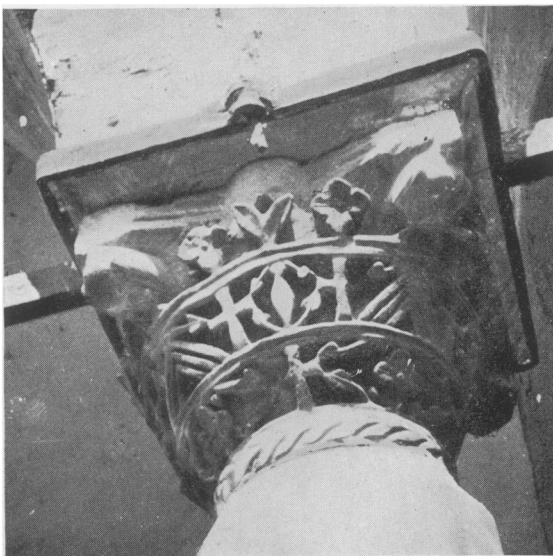
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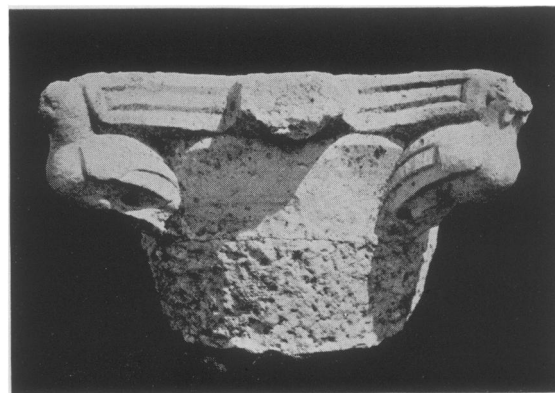
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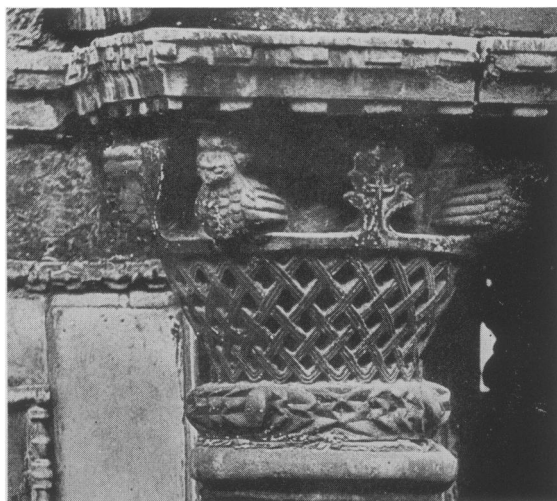
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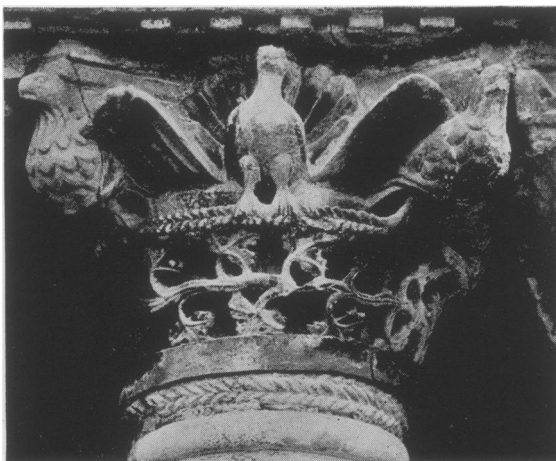
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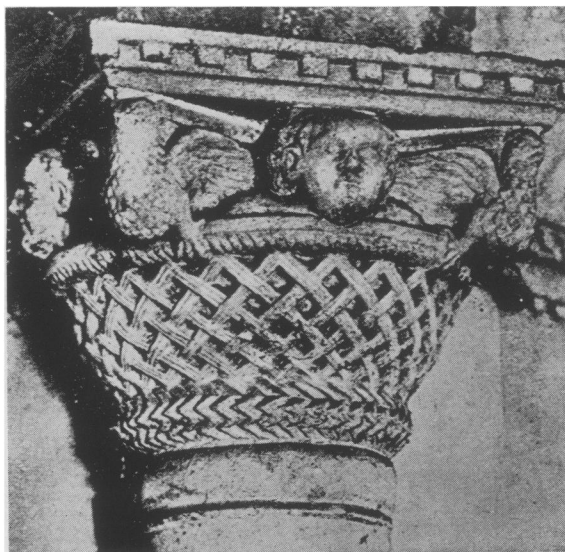
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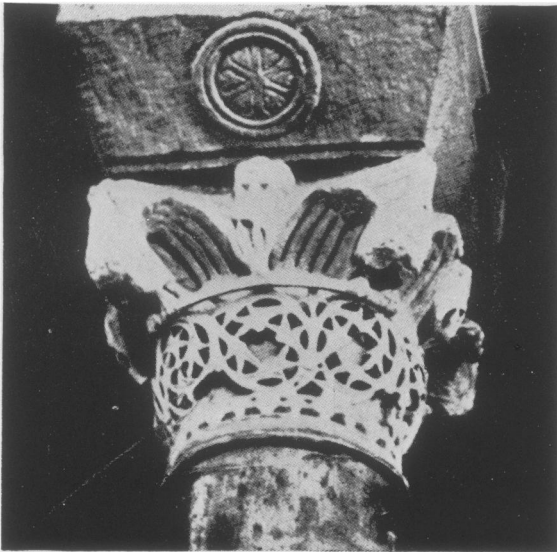
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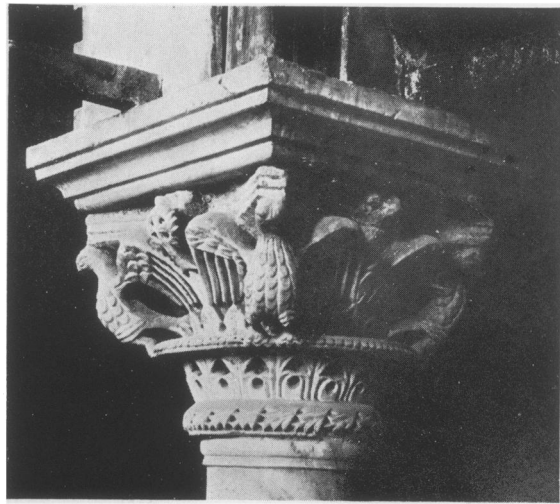
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